

THE DAWN OF NATIONAL LIFE

*An Outline of Racial Origins : How Man Emerged
from the Horde at the Call of the Tribal Spirit*

By **SIR ARTHUR KEITH, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., LL.D.**

Author of "The Antiquity of Man," "Nationality and Race," etc

IF we would seek for a rational explanation of how mankind has been fashioned into diverse races, and how modern nationalities have come into being, we must go far beyond the bounds of history in its written form. From the number of early cemeteries and graves in Upper Egypt, we may draw the conclusion that some 6,000 years before the birth of Christ if not earlier, a discovery had already been made which was destined to revolutionise the world of mankind. This discovery was the knowledge of agriculture—the art which made any tract of land, one which was scarcely sufficient to sustain a single soul by its natural produce, sufficient to carry a hundred families. By this art the sparsely distributed natives of the valley of the Nile became, in a few generations, the teeming millions who served the Pharaohs. It is the knowledge of agriculture that has clothed large parts of the earth with a close carpet of humanity.

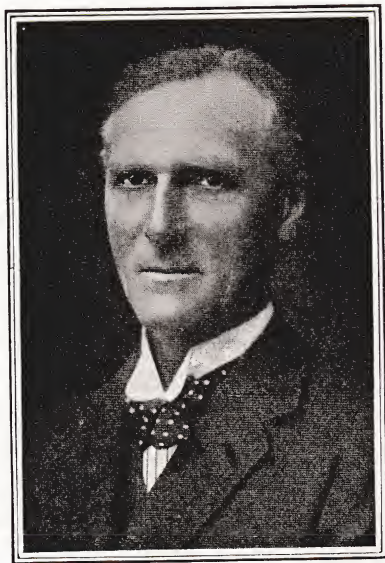
To take a modern example from our own homeland, an area in the valley of the Thames which could scarcely have supported twenty wandering families in Neolithic times by its natural produce of plant, fish, and game, now provides homes for over seven millions of Londoners

The discovery and improvement of agriculture have made massed populations and crowded nationalities possible, and wrought a evolution in the conditions of human existence. This critical step forward marks the close of an ancient order of things and the dawn of our modern world.

The discovery of agriculture coincides with another important event—the beginning of the Neolithic period, the last of man's many phases of stone culture. Experts are almost unanimous in placing the beginning of man's Neolithic culture at a date some 6,000 or 7,000 years before the birth of Christ. Thus it will be seen that the dawn of our modern world of crowded nationalities is a comparatively recent event in man's immensely long history. It was not until some 3,000 years before

Christ's time that men found out how to replace weapons and implements of stone by others wrought in metal—first in copper or bronze, and then in iron. The Bronze and Iron Ages represent only the latest pages of the voluminous history of mankind.

For the anthropologist there are but two well-marked phases in human history. The first phase is that of natural subsistence—an infinitely long and monotonous chapter—stretching



Arthur Keith

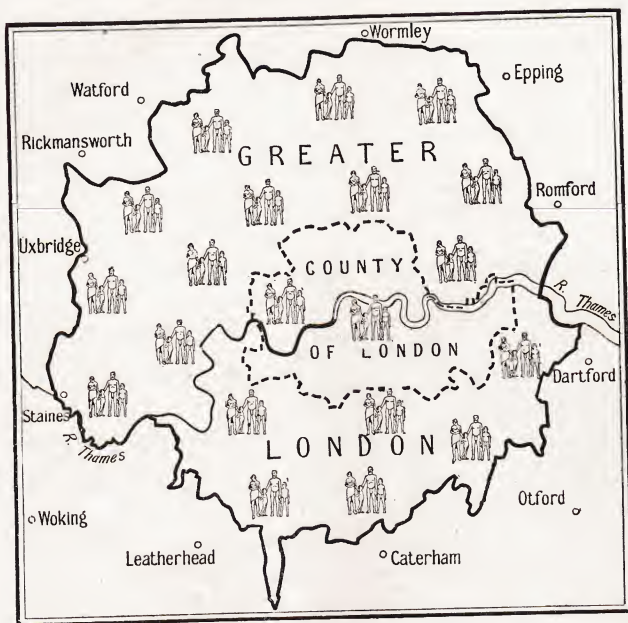
Photo, Russell

over a million of years or more. The second is the phase of artificial subsistence—which we have just seen to be a short chapter—covering a period of 8,000 years, or 10,000 at the very utmost. This later period has been one crowded with events which have a critical bearing on the present and future welfare of

early humanity, when modern races of mankind were being fashioned and the qualities of their brains and minds were being evolved. No land offers us such advantages for our present purpose as does the continent of Australia. Until a little over 150 years ago, when Captain Cook arrived there, it was the most secluded part of the earth's surface, the most remote from the tides of civilization which swept the continents lying to the north of the Equator.

If a breeder were in search of a primitive stock of humanity, with the view of evolving from it, by means of artificial selection, breeds or races comparable to the more distinctive types of modern mankind—such as the Negro of Africa, the Mongol of Asia, and the Caucasian of Europe—he would select for his purpose the dark-skinned natives of Australia. They represent an old or primitive type of modern humanity.

They have many Negroid traits, some Mongolian, some Caucasian features, and many other characters which may be



WHEN ONLY 100 PERSONS COULD LIVE IN LONDON
In prehistoric times, before man had discovered the great secret of agriculture, the area now covered by Greater London could support only about 100 individuals. Its total possible population at that early stage is shown by the figures on the map. To-day, seven and a half millions of human beings are massed in the area

mankind. It was during this period that the actors in the great drama of humanity took up their present places on the world stage. But when it comes to the understanding of racial and national problems, the first and long natural phase of man's history is by far the more important, for it was in this period that the existing races of mankind became differentiated and came by their mental qualities and bodily characters. The mental outlook which has been inherited by modern man was shaped then.

Fortunately for our present purpose, it is still possible to study the conditions of life which prevailed in the world of

termed low or primitive. The conditions under which they spend their lives represent a stage which prevailed in all parts of the world before the art of agriculture was discovered. At the date of Captain Cook's arrival the native population of this vast continent—probably under a quarter of a million souls—was divided and subdivided into a myriad of tribal islets.

The manner of life led within one of these islets we may glean from the recent and instructive researches of Professor Baldwin Spencer and Mr. F. J. Gillen in Central and Northern Australia. We may select the Warramunga tribe, occupying a sharply delimited

territory, equal in extent to the combined areas of Yorkshire and Lancashire, situated almost in the heart of the continent. Their country is an arid plain, covered by Mulga scrub, crossed by ranges of hills, and provided with no natural frontier barriers. So barren does the land seem to a European visitor that he is puzzled to know how the natives manage to obtain a livelihood, for they are entirely dependent on the natural produce of their arid plains and almost waterless creek-valleys.

Over this country the Warramunga are scattered, divided into local bands or groups, each group confining its wanderings to a definite and recognized district of the tribal territory. Each local group is composed of closely related indi-

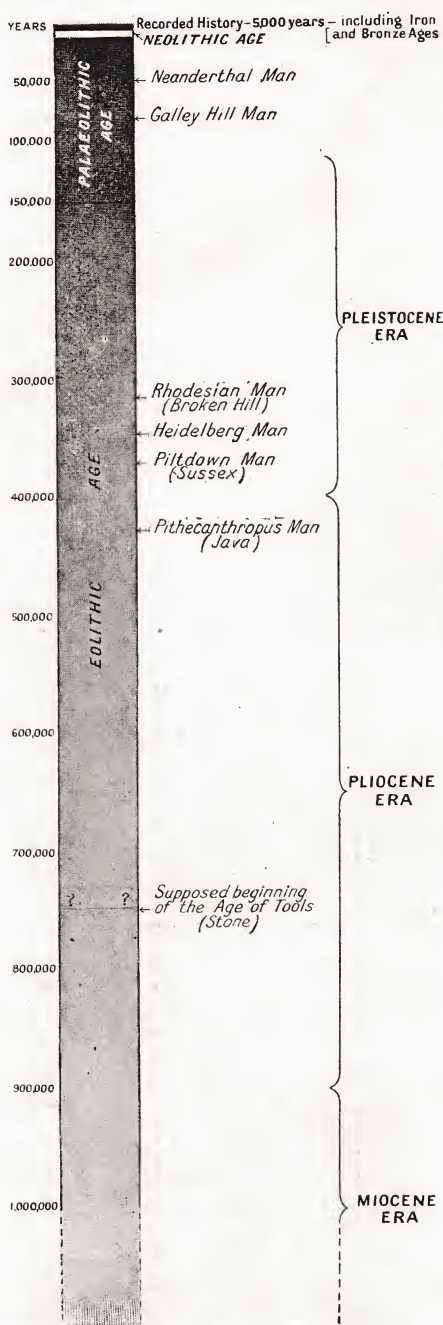
viduals, the older men serving as heads or advisers. A common speech prevails throughout the members of the tribe, with a tendency to form local dialects. Elaborate ceremonies bring local groups together at intervals, and assist to keep up a community of interest and of organization throughout the whole tribe.

The Warramunga are surrounded by five other tribes, each of which has its marches strictly delimited. Each has its own tongue; in ceremonies and in beliefs, each tribe differs in detail. A strict understanding of territorial limits, a decided difference in speech, and slighter differences in customs, habits, beliefs, and ceremonies tend to isolate neighbouring tribes. Marriage across the tribal frontier line is rare: organized



THE DISCOVERY THAT MARKS THE DAWN OF OUR MODERN WORLD
The discovery of agriculture was the event which changed the whole face of the world. The first man who discovered the use of the hoe initiated a new knowledge which "has clothed large parts of the earth with a close carpet of humanity." The Nigerian native seen above, whose agriculture is limited to the use of a primitive hoe, is not greatly advanced beyond the prehistoric discoverer

Photo, J. R. Raphael



AGE OF MAN ON THE EARTH

This diagram, prepared by Sir Arthur Keith, is based upon two scales of time, one estimated by the age of geological deposits and the other by the evolution of human implements. Note how brief a period in comparison to the whole is the recorded history of man

warfare of tribe against tribe is unknown; but perpetual inter-tribal vendettas across frontier lines serve to keep the people of one area separate from those of surrounding areas.

No matter which part of the Australian continent we had visited before the arrival of the white man, we should have found it divided up, each area being the circumscribed homeland of a local or family group. We should have found that a number of these local groups regarded themselves as forming part of a natural community or organization to which we may give the name of tribe. Nowhere on the Australian continent do we find evidence of disturbances wrought by the impact of migratory or invading hordes. Evolution worked out its ends by increasing the numbers and territory of successful tribes at the expense of their less vigorous and less prolific neighbours.

PHASE of life that ended 8,000 years ago in Europe but is still existing in Australia

The state of human existence which can still be seen in Australia represents for us the conditions of human life in all parts of the world during the long epoch of man's natural or primitive subsistence. In Europe this phase began to come to an end some 8,000 years ago. It was amidst these primitive conditions that the numerous races and breeds of modern mankind became differentiated from each other. In such conditions, too, extinct human forms, which we know only by the discovery of their fossilised skull and bones, became evolved.

It is only when we look deeply into the problem of the origin of modern human races, and search for the machinery which Nature has employed to bring them into existence, that we see the importance of the factor of isolation. This factor of isolation was forced on Darwin's attention when he visited the Galapagos Islands, and found each with its peculiar species of birds and turtle.

It was not necessary for Nature to place primitive mankind on an archipelago of islands scattered in a

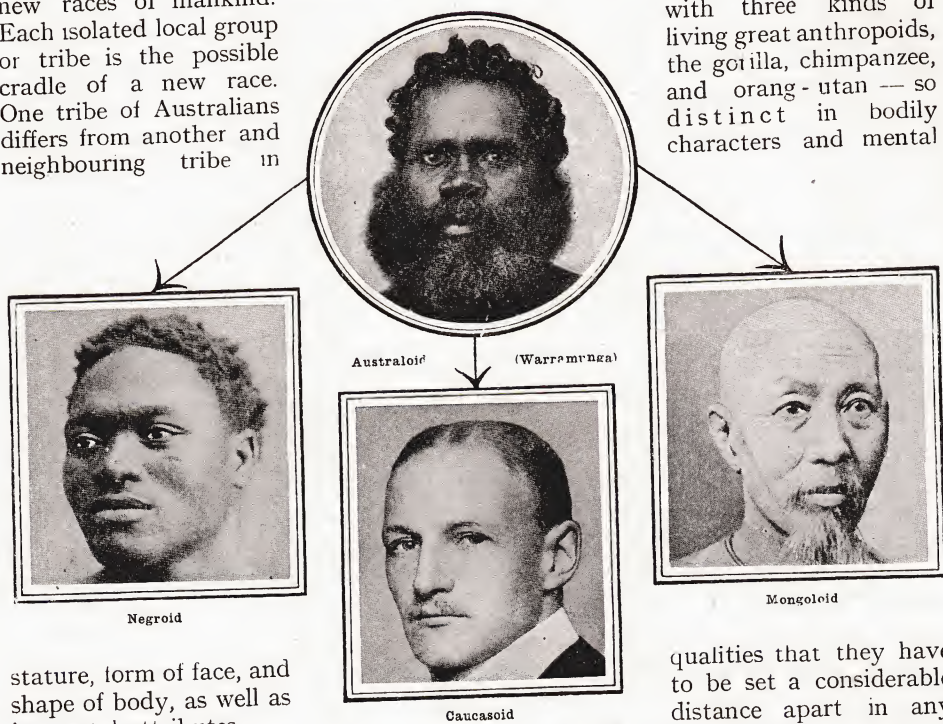
vast sea to secure the isolation of human groups; she obtained the same effect by creating and fixing in the human brain that assemblage of instinctive mental reactions that we are all familiar with as a "tribal spirit" or "clannishness."

The tribal instinct is an essential part of Nature's machinery for the production of new forms of humanity—new races of mankind. Each isolated local group or tribe is the possible cradle of a new race. One tribe of Australians differs from another and neighbouring tribe in

mental qualities which constitute the tribal instinct divide mankind into groups or nations, and have been an essential factor in evolving the black, yellow, and white races of mankind from a common ancestral stock.

In searching for light on the earliest stages in human evolution help can be obtained by studying the animals most nearly related to man. For many years

we have been familiar with three kinds of living great anthropoids, the gorilla, chimpanzee, and orang-utan—so distinct in bodily characters and mental



stature, form of face, and shape of body, as well as in mental attributes.

If the tribal spirit, which is so deeply engrafted in human nature, could be eradicated—if that mental quality which Professor

F. H. Geddings, in "The Principles of Sociology," has named "consciousness of kind" were to be bred out of the human brain, then the racial frontiers of the world would break down, and mankind would mingle and become reduced to a grey uniform mixture throughout the world. It is the ever present reaction of the tribal spirit that maintains racial frontiers. These

OUR ANCESTRAL BLACK

The existing Warramunga of Australia represent the original stock from which the three great modern races have developed, as suggested in the above grouping

qualities that they have to be set a considerable distance apart in any evolutionary scheme of classification. The orang is native to Borneo and Java; the gorilla and chimpanzee are now confined to Africa. The

difference between these apes is so great that they have to be classified or grouped not as separate species, but as separate genera. In the ancient world of mankind there were wide gaps of a similar kind between human types: some of the extinct human forms, which are known from their fossil remains, were so different in structure from the modern breeds of men, and were marked off

from each other by such pronounced anatomical characters, that they have to be given separate specific or even generic rank. They were as far apart in the evolutionary scale of the human world as the jackal, wolf, dog, and fox are in the canine world. All the breeds or races of modern man, on the other hand, are no farther apart in the evolutionary scale than the modern breed of dogs, such as the bulldog, greyhound, sheep-dog, and spaniel.

SCIENCE, despite its progress, has only recently found new marvels of human development

In the later phases of the period of man's natural subsistence, the ancestral stock of modern man thrived, expanded, and came gradually to occupy the whole surface of the earth, ousting and extinguishing all the representatives of competing and more ancient human types. There must have been some qualities of brain and body in the ancestral stock of modern man that gave it a winning advantage over all its rivals. As this modern stock thrived and expanded, broken up as it must have been into scattered, isolated, local groups, it in turn underwent differentiation and gave rise to the various human breeds or races that carpet the surface of the earth to-day.

Breeders will agree that the persistent separation of a primitive community into local or tribal groups is highly favourable to the creation of new races or breeds. But how is it that Negroid features have become most pronounced in the natives of tropical Africa, Mongoloid features in the natives of North-Eastern Asia, and Caucasoid or European features in the natives of Europe?

In late years Nature has unlocked some of the secrets of her mechanism for the production of new forms of man and beast. It has been found that there exists in the human body just as in that of every vertebrate animal, a number of growth-regulating glands, each exercising its own peculiar effect on the growth of body and brain. Two are situated within the skull and

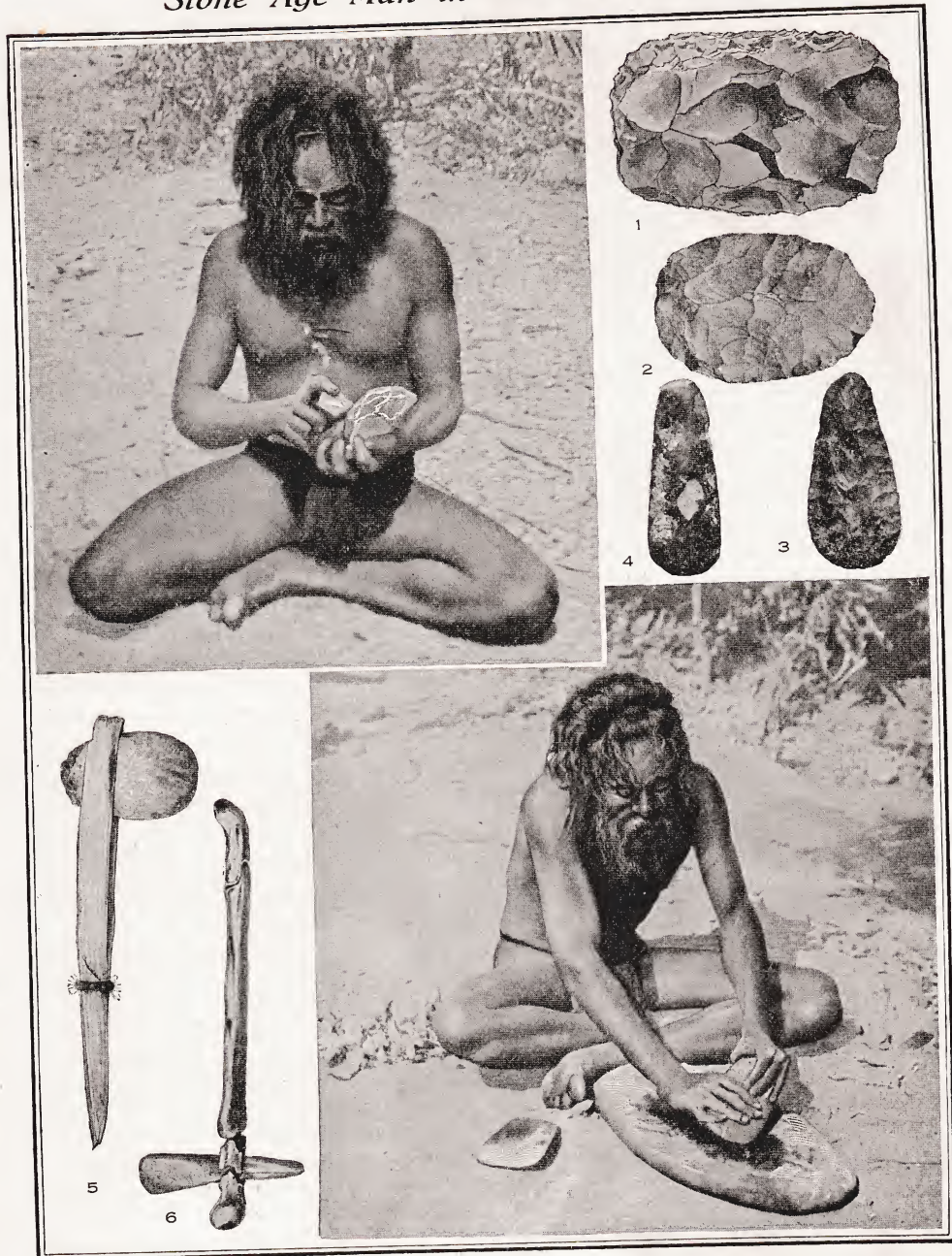
attached to the brain—the pituitary gland and the pineal gland. Another is placed in the neck—the thyroid gland. A fourth is placed near the kidneys—the adrenal gland; while the fifth, or interstitial gland, forms an intrinsic constituent of the sex or seed glands.

The fact that removal of the sex glands alters the bodily form and mental character of human beings is knowledge of olden times. But it is only in recent years that we have learned how the effect is produced. We now know that the sex glands and each of the other glands just mentioned are small but complex chemical laboratories in which substances named hormones are produced. These hormones are passed in minute quantities into the circulating blood and are by this means carried to every member and part of the body, where they exercise a regulating or controlling influence on growth and form.

MYSTERIOUS glands that determine sex and stature and shape new types of human beings

Medical men are only too familiar with the disturbances of growth which follow disorderly action of one or more of these glands. For instance, the pituitary gland may assume an abnormal size, with the result that the growth of the whole body changes. A young man or woman so affected will shoot up into a giant or giantess. If, on the other hand, the gland is reduced in size or action, dwarfism results. We know, too, that adult individuals who suffer from enlargement of the pituitary gland become transformed in appearance in the course of a few years. Their faces become rugged and long, their jaws big, and their noses prominent. Their feet, hands, skin, hair, and mental nature change, so potent are the hormones emanating from the pituitary gland in the shaping of bodily characters.

Medical men are also familiar with the growth effects which follow disordered action of the thyroid gland. The effects are different from—almost the opposite of—the effects which follow



Among the living inhabitants of the world we can find examples of man at almost every stage of his upward progress from the primitive conditions of the Stone Age. The existing Warramunga tribe of Australia may be taken as representing that very rudimentary culture which prevailed throughout the world before the transforming art of agriculture had been discovered. These Warramunga are making tools of stone, the upper one chipping a block of diorite by means of a small lump of hard quartzite, to rough out an axe-head like Fig. 1, photographed from an actual example, that may compare with Fig. 2, of a real palaeolith found in England. The Warramunga at work in the lower photograph is carrying the axe-head a stage further, polishing it after more chipping, as in Figs. 3 and 4, which show Neolithic celts from the South of England. Fig. 5 is a finished Warramunga axe, the haft of split withy from a gum-tree, and 6 a Neolithic axe-head in its original handle, found in Solway Moss

Photos, Spencer & Gillen's "Across Australia," Macmillan & Co., Ltd.



ANIMALS THAT ARE MOST NEARLY RELATED TO MAN

The orang (left), a native of Borneo, who builds a rude shelter in the tree-tops, and the chimpanzee (right), together with the gorilla, shown opposite, are man's nearest relatives among animals. But these apes are so different from each other that they form separate genera, and the fossil remains of primitive man show equally great structural differences, whereas modern men are no farther apart in the evolutionary scale than the modern breeds of dogs

disturbed action of the pituitary gland. If the action of the thyroid is defective, the face becomes short and broad, the nose seems to sink in at the root and to become widened and flattened. The skin and hair change in texture, the brain becomes sluggish, growth in stature is diminished or even arrested, so that dwarfism results. Again, the adrenal glands, as well as the thyroid, may be defective or altered in action. The skin of a fair person then becomes darkened by the deposition within it of pigment. The colour of hair and skin can be changed.

HORMONES at work and the wonders they can perform in the growth of the human body

Thus we see that there exists in the human body an elaborate mechanism for regulating its development and growth. By the free play and interaction of hormones, stature and strength may be increased or diminished; the pigmentation of the skin may be altered, the texture and distribution of hair changed, the facial features transformed, mental nature and emotional reactions greatly modified. Further, it is highly probable that certain elements

in food, known as vitamins, can act on, and alter, the hormone mechanism which controls growth and determines racial characteristics.

MOST recent coins from Nature's wonderful mint and where they circulate

The most recent human types to be found in the world are (1) the blond people of North-Western Europe; (2) the typical negro of Central or Tropical Africa; (3) the Mongolian type of North-Eastern Asia. These are the latest physical human coins issued from Nature's evolutionary mint, and to the first only can we give any close consideration here. The lands lying round the Baltic, which served as the cradle of the blond type, represent a recent area of habitation, for throughout the long glacial period they lay deeply buried beneath a thick cap of ice.

We have every reason to suppose that the Nordic race of North-West Europe, tall men with fair hair and skin, with blue eyes and long narrow heads, are the progeny of the dark-haired and long-headed Mediterranean type of man who expanded northwards as the ice-sheet



THE FIERCE AND TERRIBLE ASPECT OF THE GORILLA

Though largest of the man-like apes, this creature is not so nearly related to the human genus as the chimpanzee, which, like the gorilla, is an inhabitant of Africa

vanished. Blond skin and hair are new features, for a dark skin is a character of primitive races of man: it is a simian and ancient inheritance.

We have no apt name for the racial type found in Europe and South-West Asia, the best being that proposed by Blumenbach—Caucasian or Caucasoid. Ever since the dawn of written history, one branch or another of this stock has led the van of civilization. All great human inventions have been made by one or other of its members—the art of agriculture, the use of metals, the application of steam and electricity, the perpetuation of knowledge by the

use of written or printed characters. How varied this stock has become, how active evolutionary forces have been in its midst, is at once realized when we draw a line across that part of the map of the world to which the Caucasian stock was confined until the dawn of the sixteenth century. The line extends from Southern India to Scandinavia. At the European end of this line we find the cradle-land of the blond man; at its Indian end we find peoples showing distinct Australoid and Negroid traits.

The population of India, we shall see, has been evolved on the great racial watershed of the world. Within its

borders extend the fringes of all the four great racial stocks of the world—the primitive Australoid, the Negroid, the Mongoloid, and the Caucasoid. India lies at the junction of the four great racial seas, hence the apparently mixed character of her population.

NOSES of all nations are variously designed according to racial areas

Our early acquaintance with Biblical history has unconsciously led us to regard the peoples living between the eastern end of the Mediterranean and the western frontiers of India—the Turk, Kurd, Armenian, Jew, Arab, Persian, and Afghan—as the most ancient of human races. When, however, we look closely at the physical characters of these Eastern peoples, particularly at their facial features—for it is by the form and expression of the face, by the colour of skin and texture of hair that we can best tell one race from another—we see that in reality they represent one of the most clearly differentiated branches of the Caucasian stock.

It is on the human nose that Nature has wrought her latest evolutionary designs. Among anthropoids the nose is merged in the contour of a snout-like face; the primitive human nose is wide, flat, not clearly differentiated from the rest of the face. In the typical Semitic face, and in variants of this type, we see a racial characteristic which extends from Palestine to Egypt. In this region of the world the nose has become a sharply delineated structure, more so than in any other racial area.

The present headquarters of this great-nosed racial type, which may be named Proto-Semitic, lies in South-Western Asia. It extends towards the north and east until it reaches the frontiers of the Mongolian stock beyond Afghanistan in the neighbourhood of the Hindu Kush. To this Proto-Semitic stock the Turk belongs, not, as is so often believed, to the Mongolian. We can follow the Proto-Semitic type through Persia and Baluchistan. When we enter the Punjab the racial type changes; the skin darkens, but the

stature and features are pronouncedly Caucasoid or European. In India we reach the utmost fringe of the Caucasoid type; we pass beyond its evolutionary cradle. When we move towards Arabia or Egypt we come among less differentiated members of the Proto-Semitic stock. In Arabia, as in Egypt, we are passing towards the African cradle-lands and come within the zone of Hamitic influence. The Arabs and Egyptians have been evolved on that fringe of the Caucasian territory which borders on Negroid or Hamitic territory.

The greater part of Europe, including all its central areas, is occupied by peoples who, although differing in no evident degree from Nordic and Mediterranean races as regards facial features, colouring of hair and skin, and in stature, yet have a different form of skull. They are round-headed or brachycephalic, whereas the Nordic and Mediterranean stocks are long or narrow headed—are dolichocephalic.

LONG heads and round heads, and the distinct racial origins suggested by them

A difference in head form must not be given undue importance as a race mark. At best it serves in the subdivision of a human stock into races. Among Mongols we find peoples with long heads, although most divisions of this stock have round heads. Among Negroid and Australoid peoples most have long heads, only some have round. In the branches of the Proto-Semitic stock a round head is the prevailing form, but some branches are long-headed. We must not suppose that Central Europeans of the round-headed or Alpine type are radically different from the other two European stocks because of their shape of head. Clearly all Europeans are evolved from a common ancestral or Caucasian stock. In Mediterranean and Nordic stocks, dolichocephaly is dominant; in the Alpine stock, brachycephaly is dominant.

The Alpine stock falls into two divisions—the fair-haired, round-headed peoples occupying the greater

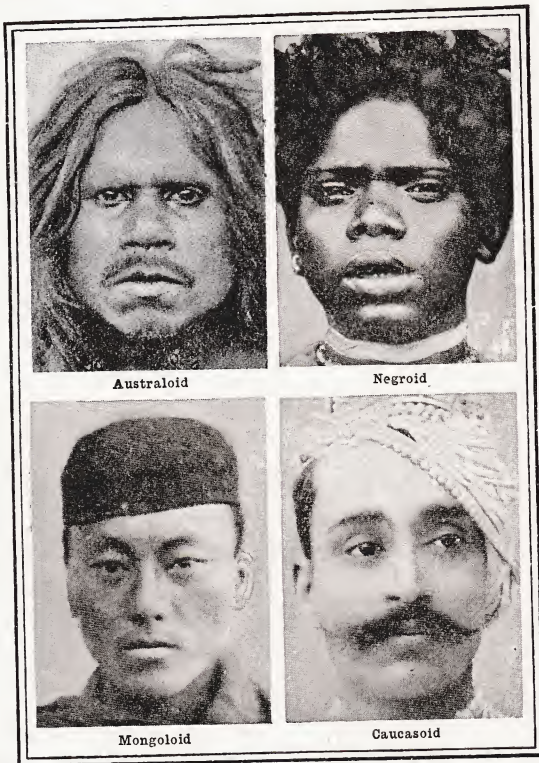
part of Russia, extending to Finland and the Baltic Provinces and sweeping right through Poland and Germany as far westwards as Hanover. The fair Alpine people are also known as Slavs. The other division, darker in skin and hair, and even more rounded in form of skull, occupy the greater part of the Balkan peninsula and the lands drained by the Danube and Upper Rhine. The dark-headed Alpine stock also extends into Northern Italy and occupies the whole of Central France.

So far as concerns physical type—and in everyday life the distinction between one human race and another can be made only from the outward appearance of face and body—the whole population of modern Europe, all its nationalities, if we except the Mongolian remnants in Northern Russia, has been compounded from the four racial stocks or types just mentioned—the Mediterranean, Nordic, fair Alpine or Slav, and dark Alpine—the French Celt. We have no option when we conclude that each of these stocks has been evolved in Europe, for nowhere else in the world do we find peoples or traces of peoples that could serve as ancestral stocks of modern Europeans.

We must conclude that Europe has been the cradle of her own racial types. But we do know that in the last six thousand years the round-headed stock has greatly increased the original area it held in Europe. In late palaeolithic times, towards the end of the Ice Age, we find the first traces of round-headed men in Western Europe. Until then all the fossil remains found in Western Europe are those of long-head racial types. The first round-head invasion of Britain occurred at the beginning of the Bronze Age, some two thousand years B.C.

Up to the time when Darwin's discoveries and teaching began to influence the thoughts of scientific men, it had

been customary to trace the origin of European races to an Eastern or Asiatic source. The older anthropologists pre-supposed a distant Garden of Eden in the East, from which waves of mankind issued to flow westwards over a virgin Europe. We now know that Europe has been occupied by human forms throughout a whole geological



THE RACIAL WATERSHED OF THE WORLD

Within the borders of India the four great racial stocks of the world find a meeting-place. The primitive Australoid, the Negroid, the Mongoloid, and the Caucasoid are all to be found there. The types in order are: Vedda, Kader Forest man of S. India, Bhutia of Darjeeling, and a prince of Rajputana

epoch, long before types had reached their present modern racial states of evolution and distribution.

Still, the Aryan theory, which held that the dominant people of Europe had spread from a centre in South-Western Asia, had one advantage. It provided an easy explanation for the fact that all the languages spoken between Ireland in the West and India

in the East are modifications of the same ancestral tongue. Men did not then believe that speech could spread except by racial expansion and conquest. It was supposed that blood and speech must spread together.

RACES of man are differentiated in the same way as well-marked species of animals

The spread of fashion, such as everyone is familiar with in the modern woman's world, is no new thing. Among the natives of Australia, living in isolated groups, fashion, custom, and information can still percolate through the mass. In ancient Europe, during the Ice Age, we find fashion succeeding fashion in all parts of the continent. The most probable explanation of the community in origin of European tongues is to be found in the rise and spread of agriculture. The European peoples are without doubt evolutionary products of their own continent, but their civilization is certainly to be traced to an eastern source—to lands occupied by the Proto-Semitic stock. If we admit that a Proto-Semitic people, occupying a region between the Levant and India, was one of the first to master the secrets of agriculture and that from their land this knowledge—so revolutionary and potent in its effects—began to spread in ever-extending eddies, then we can see how a common tongue might come to be spread throughout a continent. All the facts at our disposal point to the round-headed stock as the active agents in carrying the knowledge of agriculture into Europe and disseminating it throughout the continent.

So clearly differentiated are the four chief types of mankind that, were an anthropologist presented with a crowd of men comprising individuals drawn from the central cradles of the Australoid, the Negroid, Mongoloid, or Caucasoid types, he could separate the one human element from the other without hesitation or mistake. The races have the same high degree of differentiation which we find among well-marked species among animals. We may therefore speak of such races as specific races.

But suppose the same test had to be carried out on a mixed company drawn from the Mediterranean area, the Nordic area, the Alpine area, and the Proto-Semitic area, how far would our expert be successful? With three out of every ten individuals he would show hesitation or probably make a mistake about them. The same thing would happen if our test company were drawn from the outlying parts of neighbouring evolutionary areas. Everyone will admit that the people of Persia, Spain, Norway, and Poland must be regarded as belonging to distinct races, but they are imperfect races, because only about 70 to 80 per cent. of their population carry distinctive racial markings. They are not fully differentiated racial types.

Then we come to racial distinctions which depend almost entirely on tradition, speech, custom, and habit. No fitter example can be chosen to illustrate this least degree of racial distinction than the British Celt and Saxon. Nowhere have we a better opportunity of comparison of these two racial types than in Scotland. From earliest times the Highlanders have been counted Celts, the Lowlanders Saxons. With nine out of ten individuals in a mixed company the most expert anthropologist will be unable to say, judging purely from physical characters, whether he is dealing with a Celt or a Saxon.

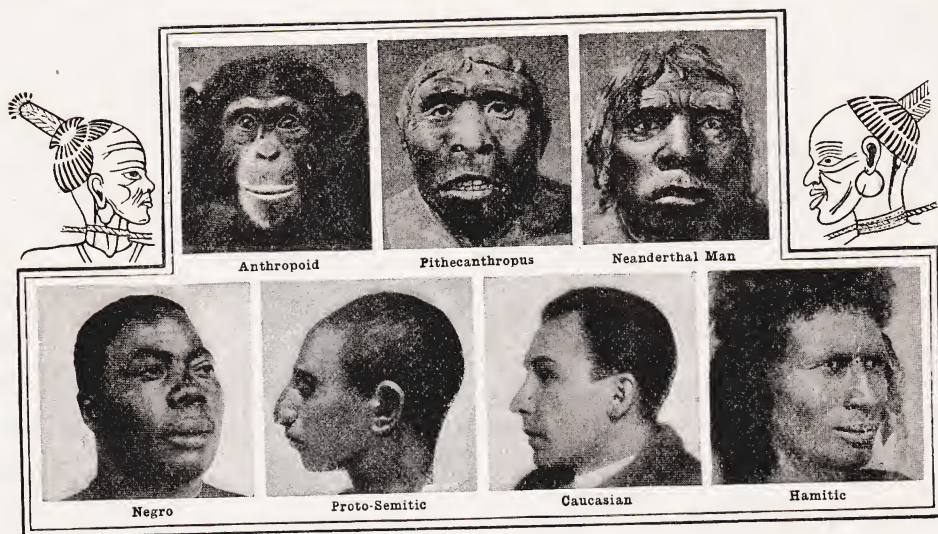
PHYSICAL distinctions among the peoples of the British Isles mark them as "incipient races".

On the streets of one of our great cities every British nationality of Celtic and of Saxon origin is plentifully represented, but it is only in exceptional cases, and usually guided by accidental circumstances such as accent, or dress, or manner, that even an expert can separate individuals of English, Welsh, Irish, or Scottish origin from each other.

The degree of difference which exists between British people of Celtic and of Saxon origin represents the initial stage in the differentiation of races. Such races should be recognized and spoken of as incipient races. From the politician's point of view, this incipient

stage in the differentiation of a common human stock into different races is of the greatest importance, so persistent and clamorous is the machinery which Nature employs for the evolution of racial individuality. For the anthropologist it is also significant, for the incipient stage marks the first step to racial differentiation; the imperfect stage marks the second, while the specific stage marks the summation of the evolutionary movement. In every continent of the globe all three stages

ever invented, because by its means the weakest and least equipped races of mankind were laid open to attack by the strongest and best equipped. The coming of the long-voyage ship brought the advance-guard of Western Europe against the weak flanks of the native races of America, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. In the course of three centuries the racial aspect of a great part of the world has been transformed; if no new type has made its appearance, many ancient human types have been



NATURE'S LATEST EVOLUTIONARY DESIGNS IN NOSES

In the study of the physical attributes of man the nose forms one of the most important indexes to nationality. Sir Arthur Keith has some very interesting reflections on this subject in his brilliant contribution to these pages, and the arrangement of the above group will help to illustrate the point he makes so effectively. The photographs of Pithecanthropus and Neanderthal Man are from restorations in the American Museum of Natural History

are plentifully exemplified, showing that Nature's evolutionary machinery is still at work in all parts of the earth.

At an early point in this account, the revolution wrought in the evolution of human races by the discovery of agriculture was emphasised. Peoples who have utilised this art to the full have been able to increase their numbers one hundred-fold and more. Next in importance, as a factor in the racial transformation of the earth, come the knowledge of navigation and the mastery of the sea. The long-voyage ship is the most powerful anthropological weapon

extinguished. The evolutionary wheel has been turning at a rate unprecedented in the history of mankind.

Sea power is no new thing. We have now the most ample evidence that in the second millennium B.C. there was a busy traffic along the seas on our western British shores, linking South-West Europe to the Orkneys and to Norway. By this route both Ireland and Wales received from the south important additions to their primitive populations. By the same date the North Sea had been mastered, for in ancient graves which lie scattered in the eastern counties of

Britain, we find definite evidence of invaders from the continental shorelands of the North Sea. The Saxon and Danish invasions were but earlier repetitions of a series of prehistoric events.

HUMAN *Hybrids, or the interbreeding of different races and the consequences*

At a still earlier date, probably by the beginning of the third millennium B.C., the Mediterranean had been mastered by branches of the human stock which had peopled its shores since prehistoric times. Along all the shores of the Indian Ocean, from the Cape of Good Hope to Java, we find traces of the time when the Arabs held command

factor in racial evolution. There were really two experiments in America—one carried out by the Mediterranean or Iberian stock of South-West Europe, the other by the Nordic or Anglo-Saxon stock of North-West Europe. The Iberians chose the richest and most populous area of America as their share—one which extended from the northern frontier of Mexico to Cape Horn. The Iberians entered as warriors and adventurers, the greater number selecting brides from the native peoples, and thus a hybrid population arose—one which has proved incapable of maintaining the high civilization of either parent race. The main result of the

experiment has been to extinguish the racial nature of both conquerors and conquered, and to bring into existence a cross-breed different from and inferior to either of the original races.

That part of the continent of America which lies to the north of Mexico became the scene of an experiment yielding a totally different result. Early in the seventeenth century a fringe of Anglo-Saxons had established itself along the eastern seaboard of North America, and in the course of three centuries this fringe had extended right to the western seaboard, extinguishing the

native population and establishing the largest and most powerful European nationality that the world has seen. Anglo-Saxon ships carried not only men to the American shores, but women and children as well, all the elements which go to build a home.

CONDITIONS *that are needed for the establishing of a new nationality*

They carried with them a common tradition, a common tongue, a common ideal—all the inherited instincts and prejudices which serve to isolate a community in a new land, and to establish a common tribal or national spirit. The building up of the United States



THE HEAD AS RACIAL INDEX

Most of the inhabitants of Central Europe have round heads, known as brachycephalic, but the Nordic and Mediterranean stocks are long-headed or dolichocephalic. The two types of head are illustrated above. On the left, a typical German represents the round-headed variety; on the right, a Sicilian youth is an excellent example of the long-headed Mediterranean stock.

of the eastern seas. For many a century Chinese junks have hugged the shores of Further India and the Malay Archipelago, and left numerous members of their crews as settlers among the native coastal populations. In many instances sea power has led to the intermingling of races and the complication of racial problems. In many cases it has given rise to hybridisation. In others to the establishment of new nationalities.

The greatest anthropological experiment the world has ever seen has been the annexation of the two great continents of America by the natives of Western Europe. We here find the highest manifestation of sea power as a

of America exemplifies for us the anthropological conditions necessary for the successful establishment of a new nationality. Mention has already been made of the three degrees of racial differentiation—the incipient, such as is seen between Celt and Saxon; the imperfect, such as is exemplified by Jew and Gentile; and the specific, such as is seen between Negro and Norseman. The new Anglo-Saxon community in America absorbed with ease elements drawn from the nationalities of North-West Europe; there was and is greater difficulty in assimilating the mass of emigrants drawn from Celtic countries, such as Ireland, and from Mediterranean lands, such as Italy, because of the masses in which these people arrived and the isolating national spirit or instinct which they brought with them.

The incipient racial barrier can be broken down because the progeny which issues from the mixture of Saxon and Celt or Saxon and Italian is not recognizable from the general mass of an Anglo-Saxon community. The absorption of peoples who have reached the stage of imperfect racial differentiation proves more difficult, because the race antipathy in this case is more potent, and the progeny in the first generation of crosses is still noticeable in the mass of the community.

WHITE races strive to maintain Nature's racial frontier against mingling with the black

When it comes to the absorption of specific races, an insuperable barrier becomes manifest. The result of such crossing can be detected after many generations: the crossed progeny carries the marks of its origin. At an early date African natives were introduced into America as slaves. The mass of their progeny, numbering now 10,000,000, have lived among, yet remained isolated from, the white community. The white race refuses to absorb the black race. The white man strives to maintain a racial frontier which Nature had succeeded in establishing in the course of a long series of evolutionary cycles.

The feeling which keeps these races apart is usually called a "prejudice," but this deeply-rooted prejudice or race instinct is really an essential part of the evolutionary machinery used by Nature in the creation of new species. It is part of the machinery which Nature uses in isolating her evolutionary groups. In striving to maintain the purity of its blood the white race is obeying one of the instincts most deeply implanted in human nature.

WHY Central and South America are lands where half-breeds abound

The Anglo-Saxon colonisation of North America has led to the establishment of two great, strong, and new nationalities, fashioned out of Western European stocks. The national or tribal spirit established by early colonists has become diffused throughout the length and breadth of the United States on the one hand and of Canada on the other. The community of that part of Canada originally settled from France has succeeded in maintaining the feeling of a separate nationality, and has thus remained semi-isolated in thought and deed from the rest of the Dominion. Here we see the incipient stage in racial differentiation.

North of the Mexican frontier there was no struggle between the most deeply implanted human instincts—the race instinct and the sex instinct. The Anglo-Saxon pioneers were surrounded by their women and children; the presence of women safeguards and secures a racial frontier; race instinct finds its fullest expression in the weaker sex. In her presence the race instinct overpowers the sex instinct.

It was because the majority of the Spaniards and Portuguese left their women folk at home that there is now a congeries of hybrid nationalities extending from Mexico to the Argentine. For the active manifestation of a race sense, there must be the shelter of a settled community, made up of women as well as of men. Unless these conditions be present sex instinct will break down the strongest racial barriers. It

is a remarkable fact that in every instance in which people of the Anglo-Saxon or Nordic stock have established themselves in a new country, they have maintained the purity of their blood. We need only cite the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa as evidence of this truth.

PRIMITIVE. *Europe was a meshwork of tribal territories just as Australia is to-day*

The early Portuguese settlements along the coasts of Africa, India, Malaya, and China have become more native than European in composition. Not a single settlement established in America by the Spanish pioneers can now be described as Iberian. Iberian settlements have ended in hybrid communities; Anglo-Saxon settlements have ended in the establishment of strong nationalities. To a large extent the difference can be ascribed to the conditions under which the early settlements were made, but not altogether.

There seems another factor at work—a more highly developed sense of race difference in the Anglo-Saxon. The physical characters which differentiate European from African races become more marked as we proceed northwards from the Mediterranean, and find their highest expression in the blond stock of North-West Europe. With this differentiation of physical characters there seems to have also been a heightening of the sense of race difference.

Race consciousness or instinct, in all its degrees—incipient, imperfect, and specific—is an essential part of Nature's evolutionary machinery. Throughout the long twilight of the world hormones and race instinct have been silently shaping the destinies of mankind. These evolutionary forces, which have shaped extinct forms of men into distinct species and modern forms into races or incipient species, have been inherited in all their pristine force by the population of modern Europe. It is the strength of this inheritance that can explain best the burning questions of nationality.

The evolution of the nationalities of modern Europe from small, scattered

groups of men, each drawing a subsistence from the natural produce of a definite territory, is a story which, as yet, can be told in only the baldest outline. Within historical times the population of the Highlands of Scotland was divided into clans or tribes, each claiming and occupying a definite tribal territory. It is not difficult to see how such tribal groups could be evolved from the group arrangement which holds true of all primitive peoples. Every member of a tribe is imbued with a common spirit—a tribal spirit—which leads him to regard his fellows as friends or kinsmen to whom help and sympathy have to be extended; every stranger he looks upon as a foe, to be suspected, neglected, and if possible suppressed.

In the early history of Greece and of Rome we have clear evidence of tribes and of tribal territories. The whole of Europe was divided, just as native Australia is to-day, into a meshwork of tribal territories. The essential history of Europe during the last four thousand years consists in the aggregation of small tribal territories so as to form larger and larger units. By the aggregation of such units have been shaped the nationalities of modern Europe. In the process of unification the primitive tribal spirit has not been annulled. It no doubt became blunted as it was expanded to cover larger territories and communities. Nevertheless, that mightiest of all human forces—patriotism or national spirit—is but the generalised essence of the local or tribal spirit. Patriotism is part of Nature's ancient mechanism for the evolution of new races.

TWO *kinds of national movements, building up and breaking down, are active in Europe to-day*

In modern Europe we see two kinds of national movements taking place. Smaller nationalities are being compounded into larger; larger nationalities are being broken up. We see fusion taking place, and we see disruption. Which is Nature's method? All the great nationalities of Europe have been built up by fusion—Italy, Spain, France, Great Britain, and Germany. As the last

named is the most recent and most clearly understood case of fusion, we may glance at the means by which it was accomplished.

The nationalities and states which were compounded to form the German Empire were derived from three of the human racial stocks of Europe—Slav, dark Alpine, and Nordic. These stocks were united or tribalised by the use of a common tongue. By war and conquest the Empire surrounded itself—isolated itself—by a ring of enemies. The Germans carried their frontiers beyond the limits of their speech, and sought to make Danes, Frenchmen, and Poles members of their own nationality. They strengthened their national frontiers by establishing tariff barricades as well as

by the building of fortifications. By the multiplication of the various means used for rapid intercommunication, such as railways, roads, telegraphs, and telephones, they linked all their tribal territories into a united whole. Communities which in primitive tribal days lay a week's journey apart were brought within a few hours' travel of each other. Personal contact was established throughout the population.

A national or tribal spirit was fostered in all parts of the land by an inspired propaganda carried on by newspapers, pamphlets, books, societies, and universities. The innate tribal spirit of its people was roused to such a pitch that in the crisis of war it held: sixty millions of people acted as if they were members



MOST POWERFUL OF ALL THE MODERN WEAPONS OF ANTHROPOLOGY
Although the discovery of agriculture was the greatest event in the evolution of man, the most potent anthropological weapon ever invented was the long-voyage ship, which by threading together the utmost parts of the world so mixed and interbred its races as to transform in the course of three centuries the racial aspect of a great area of the globe

Photo, Cr  t  

of a Highland clan. The creators of modern Germany shaped an empire by fanning the tribal instincts of their countrymen—part of Nature's ancient evolutionary machinery. Modern inventions, the printing press, the newspaper, the telegraph, telephone, and railway, made such applications possible.

HOW *Nature spreads abroad her successful experiments in nationality*

In all these processes of national fusion, as in the formation of great modern commercial trusts, the anthropologist observes that the national movement begins from above and works downwards through the mass of the people. The governing class, having determined a policy, plays upon and fans into flame the tribal embers of the popular mind. It is altogether a different process which brings about national disruption. The secession of a people occupying part of a national territory or part of a confederation of states is the result of a local and popular movement, leavening the mass and working upwards to the governing class.

Fusion is a movement springing from the head, disruption a movement springing from the heart. The movement may not depend on a difference of race, but on a difference in place and a divergence in interest.

The people of the United States were British, yet they broke away from the parent country. The people of Norway and Sweden are of the same racial composition; they had every worldly reason for remaining united, for union gave each additional power. Yet after a partnership which lasted less than a century, they agreed to separate. In this case the movement came from below; a tribal feeling which swept through the people of Norway compelled a disruption.

It was Sir Francis Galton who first observed that in every local group of men or of beasts there were two sets of instinctive forces at work, one making for the unification or integration of a tribe or herd, the other ever waiting the opportunity to bring about secession or

disruption. So long as the natural produce of an area answers the needs of its community the tribal spirit holds sway. When the numbers of a herd or tribe exceed the resources, or if its members become scattered over so wide an area that one section of the tribe loses touch with another section, then Nature brings a totally different set of forces into operation, leading to division and expansion of the overgrown tribe.

Both integration and disruption are parts of Nature's ancient machinery which she has implanted deeply in the mental organization of the human brain, the machinery of instinctive reactions. She secures her evolutionary cradles by those tending to unification; she spreads abroad her successful experiments by the instinctive reactions which lead to disruption.

THE *tribal spirit still at work in the modern world of great nationalities*

Modern civilization has transformed the ancient world in which Nature, undisturbed by human efforts, shaped the modern races of mankind. Modern man has turned Nature's small local evolutionary cradles into huge nationalities. By the use of steam and electricity the European has made the population of the earth into a continuous sentient web. By means of the Press, modern man has succeeded in diffusing and maintaining a common tribal or national spirit throughout the dense population of immense areas.

The competition is no longer between local groups, but between enormous aggregations of local units. The force of circumstances has compelled local groups to overcome their inherited tendencies, and by a rational act of the brain to merge their tribal identity with that of their territorial neighbours. The building up of great modern nationalities is only possible when the intellect of man takes control of his instinctive tendencies and emotional nature. At present our struggle is to adapt the mental organization we have inherited from an ancient world to the needs of the man-made world of to-day.

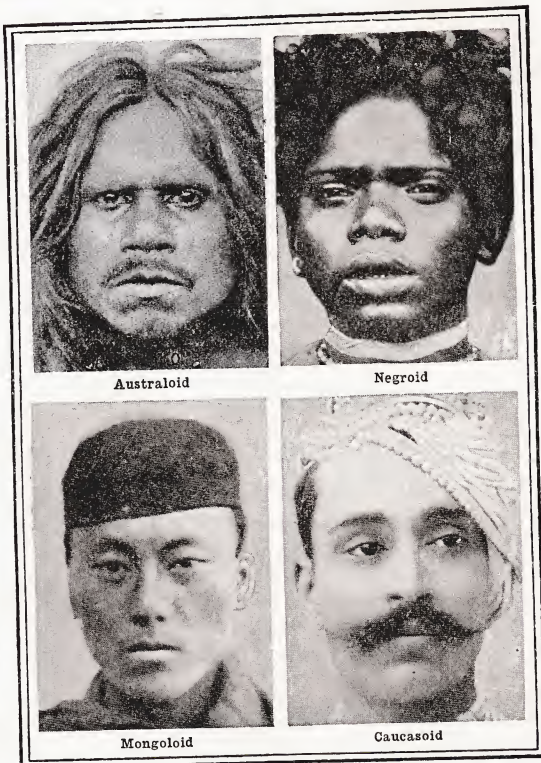
part of Russia, extending to Finland and the Baltic Provinces and sweeping right through Poland and Germany as far westwards as Hanover. The fair Alpine people are also known as Slavs. The other division, darker in skin and hair, and even more rounded in form of skull, occupy the greater part of the Balkan peninsula and the lands drained by the Danube and Upper Rhine. The dark-headed Alpine stock also extends into Northern Italy and occupies the whole of Central France.

So far as concerns physical type—and in everyday life the distinction between one human race and another can be made only from the outward appearance of face and body—the whole population of modern Europe, all its nationalities, if we except the Mongolian remnants in Northern Russia, has been compounded from the four racial stocks or types just mentioned—the Mediterranean, Nordic, fair Alpine or Slav, and dark Alpine—the French Celt. We have no option when we conclude that each of these stocks has been evolved in Europe, for nowhere else in the world do we find peoples or traces of peoples that could serve as ancestral stocks of modern Europeans.

We must conclude that Europe has been the cradle of her own racial types. But we do know that in the last six thousand years the round-headed stock has greatly increased the original area it held in Europe. In late palaeolithic times, towards the end of the Ice Age, we find the first traces of round-headed men in Western Europe. Until then all the fossil remains found in Western Europe are those of long-head racial types. The first round-head invasion of Britain occurred at the beginning of the Bronze Age, some two thousand years B.C.

Up to the time when Darwin's discoveries and teaching began to influence the thoughts of scientific men, it had

been customary to trace the origin of European races to an Eastern or Asiatic source. The older anthropologists pre-supposed a distant Garden of Eden in the East, from which waves of mankind issued to flow westwards over a virgin Europe. We now know that Europe has been occupied by human forms throughout a whole geological



THE RACIAL WATERSHED OF THE WORLD

Within the borders of India the four great racial stocks of the world find a meeting-place. The primitive Australoid, the Negroid, the Mongoloid, and the Caucasoid are all to be found there. The types in order are: Vedda, Kader Forest man of S. India, Bhutia of Darjeeling, and a prince of Rajputana

epoch, long before types had reached their present modern racial states of evolution and distribution.

Still, the Aryan theory, which held that the dominant people of Europe had spread from a centre in South-Western Asia, had one advantage. It provided an easy explanation for the fact that all the languages spoken between Ireland in the West and India

in the East are modifications of the same ancestral tongue. Men did not then believe that speech could spread except by racial expansion and conquest. It was supposed that blood and speech must spread together.

RACES of man are differentiated in the same way as well-marked species of animals

The spread of fashion, such as everyone is familiar with in the modern woman's world, is no new thing. Among the natives of Australia, living in isolated groups, fashion, custom, and information can still percolate through the mass. In ancient Europe, during the Ice Age, we find fashion succeeding fashion in all parts of the continent. The most probable explanation of the community in origin of European tongues is to be found in the rise and spread of agriculture. The European peoples are without doubt evolutionary products of their own continent, but their civilization is certainly to be traced to an eastern source—to lands occupied by the Proto-Semitic stock. If we admit that a Proto-Semitic people, occupying a region between the Levant and India, was one of the first to master the secrets of agriculture and that from their land this knowledge—so revolutionary and potent in its effects—began to spread in ever-extending eddies, then we can see how a common tongue might come to be spread throughout a continent. All the facts at our disposal point to the round-headed stock as the active agents in carrying the knowledge of agriculture into Europe and disseminating it throughout the continent.

So clearly differentiated are the four chief types of mankind that, were an anthropologist presented with a crowd of men comprising individuals drawn from the central cradles of the Australoid, the Negroid, Mongoloid, or Caucasoid types, he could separate the one human element from the other without hesitation or mistake. The races have the same high degree of differentiation which we find among well-marked species among animals. We may therefore speak of such races as specific races.

But suppose the same test had to be carried out on a mixed company drawn from the Mediterranean area, the Nordic area, the Alpine area, and the Proto-Semitic area, how far would our expert be successful? With three out of every ten individuals he would show hesitation or probably make a mistake about them. The same thing would happen if our test company were drawn from the outlying parts of neighbouring evolutionary areas. Everyone will admit that the people of Persia, Spain, Norway, and Poland must be regarded as belonging to distinct races, but they are imperfect races, because only about 70 to 80 per cent. of their population carry distinctive racial markings. They are not fully differentiated racial types.

Then we come to racial distinctions which depend almost entirely on tradition, speech, custom, and habit. No fitter example can be chosen to illustrate this least degree of racial distinction than the British Celt and Saxon. Nowhere have we a better opportunity of comparison of these two racial types than in Scotland. From earliest times the Highlanders have been counted Celts, the Lowlanders Saxons. With nine out of ten individuals in a mixed company the most expert anthropologist will be unable to say, judging purely from physical characters, whether he is dealing with a Celt or a Saxon.

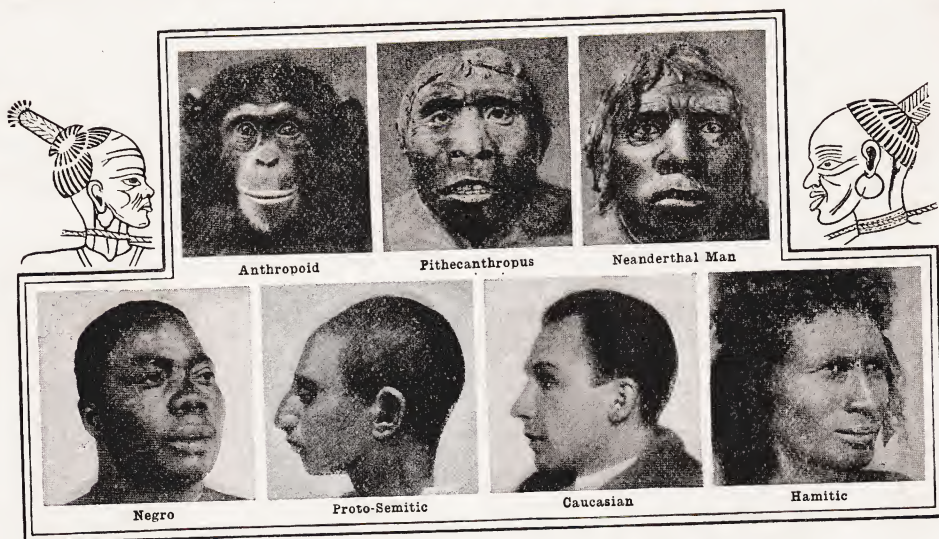
PHYSICAL distinctions among the peoples of the British Isles mark them as "incipient races"

On the streets of one of our great cities every British nationality of Celtic and of Saxon origin is plentifully represented, but it is only in exceptional cases, and usually guided by accidental circumstances such as accent, or dress, or manner, that even an expert can separate individuals of English, Welsh, Irish, or Scottish origin from each other.

The degree of difference which exists between British people of Celtic and of Saxon origin represents the initial stage in the differentiation of races. Such races should be recognized and spoken of as incipient races. From the politician's point of view, this incipient

stage in the differentiation of a common human stock into different races is of the greatest importance, so persistent and clamorous is the machinery which Nature employs for the evolution of racial individuality. For the anthropologist it is also significant, for the incipient stage marks the first step to racial differentiation; the imperfect stage marks the second, while the specific stage marks the summation of the evolutionary movement. In every continent of the globe all three stages

ever invented, because by its means the weakest and least equipped races of mankind were laid open to attack by the strongest and best equipped. The coming of the long-voyage ship brought the advance-guard of Western Europe against the weak flanks of the native races of America, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. In the course of three centuries the racial aspect of a great part of the world has been transformed; if no new type has made its appearance, many ancient human types have been



NATURE'S LATEST EVOLUTIONARY DESIGNS IN NOSES

In the study of the physical attributes of man the nose forms one of the most important indexes to nationality. Sir Arthur Keith has some very interesting reflections on this subject in his brilliant contribution to these pages, and the arrangement of the above group will help to illustrate the point he makes so effectively. The photographs of Pithecanthropus and Neanderthal Man are from restorations in the American Museum of Natural History

are plentifully exemplified, showing that Nature's evolutionary machinery is still at work in all parts of the earth.

At an early point in this account, the revolution wrought in the evolution of human races by the discovery of agriculture was emphasised. Peoples who have utilised this art to the full have been able to increase their numbers one hundred-fold and more. Next in importance, as a factor in the racial transformation of the earth, come the knowledge of navigation and the mastery of the sea. The long-voyage ship is the most powerful anthropological weapon

extinguished. The evolutionary wheel has been turning at a rate unprecedented in the history of mankind.

Sea power is no new thing. We have now the most ample evidence that in the second millennium B.C. there was a busy traffic along the seas on our western British shores, linking South-West Europe to the Orkneys and to Norway. By this route both Ireland and Wales received from the south important additions to their primitive populations. By the same date the North Sea had been mastered, for in ancient graves which lie scattered in the eastern counties of

Britain, we find definite evidence of invaders from the continental shore-lands of the North Sea. The Saxon and Danish invasions were but earlier repetitions of a series of prehistoric events.

HUMAN *Hybrids, or the interbreeding of different races and the consequences*

At a still earlier date, probably by the beginning of the third millennium B.C., the Mediterranean had been mastered by branches of the human stock which had peopled its shores since prehistoric times. Along all the shores of the Indian Ocean, from the Cape of Good Hope to Java, we find traces of the time when the Arabs held command

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by the building of fortifications. By the multiplication of the various means used for rapid intercommunication, such as railways, roads, telegraphs, and telephones, they linked all their tribal territories into a united whole. Communities which in primitive tribal days lay a week's journey apart were brought within a few hours' travel of each other. Personal contact was established throughout the population.

A national or tribal spirit was fostered in all parts of the land by an inspired propaganda carried on by newspapers, pamphlets, books, societies, and universities. The innate tribal spirit of its people was roused to such a pitch that in the crisis of war it held : sixty millions of people acted as if they were members



MOST POWERFUL OF ALL THE MODERN WEAPONS OF ANTHROPOLOGY
Although the discovery of agriculture was the greatest event in the evolution of man, the most potent anthropological weapon ever invented was the long-voyage ship, which by threading together the utmost parts of the world so mixed and interbred its races as to transform in the course of three centuries the racial aspect of a great area of the globe

Photo, Cr  t  

of a Highland clan. The creators of modern Germany shaped an empire by fanning the tribal instincts of their countrymen—part of Nature's ancient evolutionary machinery. Modern inventions, the printing press, the newspaper, the telegraph, telephone, and railway, made such applications possible.

HOW *Nature spreads abroad her successful experiments in nationality*

In all these processes of national fusion, as in the formation of great modern commercial trusts, the anthropologist observes that the national movement begins from above and works downwards through the mass of the people. The governing class, having determined a policy, plays upon and fans into flame the tribal embers of the popular mind. It is altogether a different process which brings about national disruption. The secession of a people occupying part of a national territory or part of a confederation of states is the result of a local and popular movement, leavening the mass and working upwards to the governing class.

Fusion is a movement springing from the head, disruption a movement springing from the heart. The movement may not depend on a difference of race, but on a difference in place and a divergence in interest.

The people of the United States were British, yet they broke away from the parent country. The people of Norway and Sweden are of the same racial composition; they had every worldly reason for remaining united, for union gave each additional power. Yet after a partnership which lasted less than a century, they agreed to separate. In this case the movement came from below; a tribal feeling which swept through the people of Norway compelled a disruption.

It was Sir Francis Galton who first observed that in every local group of men or of beasts there were two sets of instinctive forces at work, one making for the unification or integration of a tribe or herd, the other ever waiting the opportunity to bring about secession or

disruption. So long as the natural produce of an area answers the needs of its community the tribal spirit holds sway. When the numbers of a herd or tribe exceed the resources, or if its members become scattered over so wide an area that one section of the tribe loses touch with another section, then Nature brings a totally different set of forces into operation, leading to division and expansion of the overgrown tribe.

Both integration and disruption are parts of Nature's ancient machinery which she has implanted deeply in the mental organization of the human brain, the machinery of instinctive reactions. She secures her evolutionary cradles by those tending to unification; she spreads abroad her successful experiments by the instinctive reactions which lead to disruption.

THE *tribal spirit still at work in the modern world of great nationalities*

Modern civilization has transformed the ancient world in which Nature, undisturbed by human efforts, shaped the modern races of mankind. Modern man has turned Nature's small local evolutionary cradles into huge nationalities. By the use of steam and electricity the European has made the population of the earth into a continuous sentient web. By means of the Press, modern man has succeeded in diffusing and maintaining a common tribal or national spirit throughout the dense population of immense areas.

The competition is no longer between local groups, but between enormous aggregations of local units. The force of circumstances has compelled local groups to overcome their inherited tendencies, and by a rational act of the brain to merge their tribal identity with that of their territorial neighbours. The building up of great modern nationalities is only possible when the intellect of man takes control of his instinctive tendencies and emotional nature. At present our struggle is to adapt the mental organization we have inherited from an ancient world to the needs of the man-made world of to-day.

THE DESTINY OF NATIONS

*The Endless Procession of Humanity: How Peoples have
Flourished & Decayed under Pressure of National Forces*

By WILLIAM ROMAINE PATERSON, M.A.

Author of "The Nemesis of Nations"

HISTORY is like an old play-bill, and the whole world is the scenery, and the vast stage is never empty and the curtain is never rung down. It is true that over immense stretches of the earth there lie the vestiges of derelict empires. But one social structure rises on the ruins of another. We handle the coins of old states, and stand before their wrecked temples and altars, and study their living art or their dying languages, or their dead religions and laws. We talk with the ghosts of vanished cities.

All is gone, but all is in motion again. An endless procession of humanity passes before us. Whence and whither? We know not. But we can ask—what was the purpose of those perished states?

What did they do for themselves and for mankind? Their flags may have been only the symbols of violence and aggression, and of a selfish ideal of group prosperity. And perhaps the lesson of human history is the lesson of ever-widening cooperation, not for family or tribal or even national purposes, but on a world scale.

What, in the first place, is the spectacle that presents itself to us? It is the spectacle of the movement of vast masses of human beings organized in groups. We hear of one great group under the name of Babylon, another under the name of Persia, another under the name of the Hittites, still others under the names of Egypt, Phoenicia, Carthage, Greece, and Rome, and so on in continuous permutation and

combination through the medieval into the modern world until we arrive at the surviving groups of to-day, such as China and Japan, Russia, France, Germany, Italy, Great Britain, and the United States.

No matter what the form of government happened to be, monarchy or republic, aristocracy or democracy, every State was a coalition, free or compulsory, for the purposes of industry and self-preservation. Sometimes the coalition refused to coalesce, and there was revolution. Sometimes one coalition came into violent contact with another, and there was war. Wherever we look we discover ferment and effervescence.

All nations are accumulators for the storage of social energy, which eventually

either increases or decreases in volume, and the ever-changing map of the world is the indicator of the maximum or the minimum pressure of national forces. The recent Peace of Versailles, which ended the greatest of all the wars, involved another re-arrangement of the map, and is a proof that the process of expansion and contraction still goes on. In other words, organized human forces, like the forces of Nature, are never stable, but are undergoing constant transformation, waxing and waning, rising and falling, ebbing and flowing.

The early peoples were, like ourselves, great human agglomerations for industrial purposes, and the thing that really binds the history of ages and of nations together is the continuity of labour and of the human experiment in



William Romaine Paterson

combined activity. It is from this point of view that we propose to glance at one or two of those experiments in the East and in the West. Three great facts should emerge from our brief study, and they are these:

1. There has been conflict and there has been cooperation within the national groups.

2. There has been conflict and there has been cooperation between them.

3. Progress appears to demand the cessation of conflict and the increase of cooperation both within the groups and between them.

WHEN *Oriental civilization was flourishing.
Europe was peopled by savages*

Now, whereas in modern times civilization has passed from the West to the East, in ancient times the current flowed from the East to the West. While great empires were flourishing in Asia, Europe lay unexplored and sunk in barbarism. World history may be said to begin with Babylon and Egypt, since the Aegean culture which the Greeks found in Argos and in Crete had come under Egyptian and Babylonian influences. At least as early as the third millennium B.C., the eastern Mediterranean peoples had come into touch, both by trade, by art, and by religion, with nations which had already grown old in North-East Africa and in Asia. While iron was still so rare in Greece that it ranked as a precious metal and was worn as an ornament, rich and luxurious civilizations had already bloomed on the banks of the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Nile.

But the Babylon which moved the admiration and astonishment of Greek travellers was the city which Nebuchadrezzar II (d. 562 B.C.), had restored and renovated after the overthrow of Assyria. It was during his reign that Babylon reached the zenith of her material splendour and recaptured the power which, in spite of many fluctuations of her fortunes, had made her name the most dreaded in the world. Her antiquity reached far back beyond

the beginnings of the historical record. A very high authority states that "in Babylonian history no date before 747 B.C. can be considered as absolutely fixed." But Babylon is mentioned as early as 3800 B.C., and it is likely that a sanctuary Babel or "the Gate of the God" was founded by the King Sargon of Akkad.

It was in the reign of her King Hammurabi or Khammurabi (about 2100 B.C.), the Amraphel mentioned in the fourteenth chapter of the Book of Genesis, that her political and social system seems to have been most firmly fixed. A great code of law, the most ancient in the world, bears that king's name, and its provisions afford us a wonderful insight into Babylonian customs. The code was discovered chiselled on a block of diorite at Susa (Persepolis) by De Morgan in 1901-1902. The briefest study of its paragraphs, which in the English version as it appears in Mr. Johns' "Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters," number as many as two hundred and eighty-two, enables us to see that Babylon was a highly organized and efficiently administered state. A few extracts will bring vividly before us the life and labours of the people.

L*AWs, wise and drastic, made by a king in
Babylon more than four thousand years ago*

"If a man has borne false witness in a trial, or has not established the statement he has made, if that case be a capital trial, that man shall be put to death." (Par. 3.)

"If he has borne false witness in a civil case, he shall pay the damages in that suit." (Par. 4.)

"If a judge has given a verdict, rendered a decision, granted a written judgement, and afterwards has altered that judgement, that judge shall be prosecuted for having altered the judgement he gave and shall pay twelve-fold the penalty laid down in that judgement. Further, he shall be publicly expelled from his judgement seat, and shall not return nor take his seat with the judges at the trial." (Par. 5.)

"If a man has stolen a child he shall be put to death." (Par. 14.)

"If a man has committed highway robbery and has been caught, that man shall be put to death." (Par. 22.)



"WE TALK WITH THE GHOSTS OF VANISHED CITIES"

A pictorial effort to visualise this fine phrase from Mr. Paterson's study of "The Destiny of Nations." The Arab of to-day is standing amidst the massive ruins of the splendid palace of Nebuchadrezzar II., the only considerable remains of Babylon that still endure, while above we have a vision of the mighty city that once flourished on the banks of the Euphrates here. The details of the reconstruction are based upon the best historical data

Photo, Underwood & Underwood

"If a fire has broken out in a man's house, and one who has come to put it out has coveted the property of the householder and appropriated any of it, that man shall be cast into the selfsame fire." (Par. 25.)

"If a man without the consent of the owner has cut down a tree in an orchard, he shall weigh out half a mina of silver." (Par. 59.)

"If the mistress of a beer-shop has not accepted corn as the price of beer, or has demanded silver on an excessive scale, and has made the measure of beer less

than the measure of corn, that beerseller shall be prosecuted and drowned." (Par. 108.)

"If a man has married a wife and a disease has seized her, if he is determined to marry a second wife he may marry her. He shall not divorce the wife whom the disease has seized. In the home they made together she shall dwell, and he shall maintain her as long as he lives." (Par. 148.)

"If a son shall strike his father his hands shall be cut off." (Par. 195.)

"If a man has hired an ox, and God



HOW THE GREAT SLAVE ARMIES OF ANTIQUITY WERE RECRUITED

The magnitude of the achievements of Babylon and Assyria was possible only in states where an immense part of the population was enslaved. Their wars were waged to recruit the slave population as well as to increase their power, and very vividly in this sculpture, now in the British Museum, do we see portrayed by an Assyrian artist the manner in which their vast slave armies were augmented

has struck it, and it has died, the man that hired the ox shall make affidavit and go free." (Par. 248.)

These remarkable statutes were in force throughout the Babylonian Empire in the third millennium before Christ, and they were enforced by judges, who, according to the most recent scholarship, were aided in their task by a body of jurymen. Moreover, the code from which the extracts have been taken was only a compilation of earlier law.

SECURITY of life and property were the privilege only of the few in ancient times

We are thus brought face to face with a community which in that remote epoch enjoyed the security of property and the protection of life and limb. A vast series of clay tablets have been discovered dealing with all kinds of private contracts, leases, sales, education, customs dues, marriage and divorce, banking, property in slaves, and the tenure of land. "It is startling," says Mr. Johns, "to find that much that we have thought distinctively our own has really come down to us from that great people who ruled the land of the

two streams. We need not be ashamed of anything we can trace back so far. It is from no savage ancestors that it descends to us. It bears the 'hall mark,' not only of extreme antiquity, but of sterling worth. The people who were so highly educated, so deeply religious, so humane and intelligent, who developed such just laws and such permanent institutions, are not unprofitable acquaintances. A right-thinking citizen of a modern city would probably feel more at home in ancient Babylon than in medieval Europe."

These words contain historical truth. Nevertheless, "a right-thinking citizen of a modern city" would discover in ancient Babylon much that would offend his sense of justice. If he examined the lower strata he would find a population sunk in slavery. For Babylon was, like Rome, one of the greatest slave states of antiquity. The superstructure of her power, her wealth, and her luxury was based upon the labour of the servile class. The Code of Hammurabi, admirable as it is in its attempt to create order and justice, legislates on behalf of the two upper



BABYLON MADE HER NAME THE MOST DREADED IN THE WORLD
 Ashurnazirpal, who lorded it over Assyria and Babylon, 883-858 B.C., was but one of the series of kings who made Babylon and Assyria names of fear throughout the ancient world for over 2,000 years. In this fine sculpture the king has had recorded the submission of his enemies, who are compelled to abase themselves at his feet, purchasing their lives at the terrible price of slavery

layers of society, the Amêlu, or aristocrat, and the Muskênu, who was the representative of the middle class. The "ardu," or slave, was only a chattel, "sag"; he was not a person, he was bought and sold like a beast of burden.

Now, a slave state which lasted more than three thousand years, and carried on war frequently for the purpose of increasing its industrial and agricultural population, must have handled incalculable millions of human beings who were denied elementary rights. In other words, a real nation had not yet been formed, and apart from the many external causes which brought about the decline of Babylon—the series of exhausting wars between her rivals and herself, and between herself and her own offspring, Assyria, the growth of other Powers like Media and Persia, the loss of trade—a social cancer was working from within. Her power was built on artificial foundations.

Her industry and her army were recruited from a vast slave population who had no genuine interest in her continuance and who, in the moment of danger, were ready to acclaim the invader. Cyrus and Alexander were

received with shouts of joy. There was no genuine cohesion of interests in a state which represented a mechanical and forced combination of nationals who were nationals only in name.

WHILE we marvel at Babylon's wonders we must remember the horrors of her slavery

When, therefore, we read of the glory of Babylon, of her chariots and her horsemen, "Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency," as Isaiah described her, the vast city with hanging gardens and meadows and orchards within her triple walls, her hundred gates of brass, her busy quays on the banks of the Euphrates, which ran through her like a diagonal, her great pyramidal Temple of Bel, the gorgeous processions through her perfumed streets, her purple and fine linen, her gold and precious stones, her silk and wool, and all the treasures of her traffic carried by ship to the mouth of her great river or across the desert by caravan—when we think of all the hypnotism of her luxury, let us remember that in her markets the price of a male slave was thirty shillings, and of a female thirteen shillings and

sixpence. Over her vast grave there now grow a few tamarisks.

Alexander the Great had felt the spell of Babylon, and he decided to make it the capital of the vast Asiatic-European empire which he had planned. But it was at Babylon that he died, June 13, 323 B.C. If he had lived to carry out his great scheme of a fusion of the peoples of Asia and Europe the history of both continents would have been profoundly modified. For he would have rearranged the affairs of Greece, and assuredly he would have passed on to Italy and would have succeeded where Pyrrhus failed in the attempt to subdue the West.

IN Greece and Italy we first see social institutions that resemble those of our own day

The great political experiments of the Greek states had, indeed, already been made, and it was well for Europe that both Greece and Rome were able to evolve their political systems disentangled from Oriental and semi-Oriental influences. Not that the interchange of ideas between East and West had not been constant many centuries before Alexander carried Greek culture as far as India. Bury points out that "the backward condition of Western as contrasted with Eastern Greece in early ages did not depend on the conformation of the coast, but on the fact that it faced away from Asia." But the Asiatic influences had been confined to the spheres of art, commerce, and religion. Egypt, too, had made many contributions to early Mediterranean civilization, but she had made no new contribution to the art of government.

It is in the Greek and the Italian peninsulas that we first recognize social institutions which, in their essence, are akin to our own. The dead weight of Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, and Egyptian tyrannies seems to be lifted. We are breathing a new air. The gift of ancient Greece to Europe was not merely the gift of deep thought or great art, but the gift of individual liberty, although that liberty was still

the apantage of a minority of the citizens.

The fact that we find ancient Greece split up into more than one hundred and fifty separate states, which shared in the same racial descent but remained politically independent, is of profound significance. For it means that the Greeks, like all Aryan stocks, like the Celts, like the Irish of to-day, had a passionate desire for self-government. In each of these Greek states the political education of Europe had begun. No form of government, and perhaps of misgovernment, known to-day is unrepresented in Hellenic and Roman history. Kings are succeeded by oligarchies and oligarchies by democracies in bewildering succession, and sometimes, as in the decay of Athens and of Rome, the real power, although disguised, lay in an ochlocracy, for the day came when, in order to postpone the utter collapse of the State, an idle and corrupt population was kept quiet by bribes and doles.

The evolution of Greece and of Rome was marked by perpetual unrest and struggle within and without. Nevertheless, amidst all the effervescence, alliances and counter-alliances, fratricidal wars, defensive leagues, which melted away almost as soon as the common enemy had been overcome, internal crises, agrarian troubles, party and partisan strife—amidst all this political conflict the secrets of government were being learned.

TO ancient times it was that men of the Renaissance turned for their renewed ideals

The whole political future of Europe was being rehearsed, and the peculiar characteristics of European as opposed to Asiatic mentality and culture were being formed and fostered. One of the most impressive facts in history is that after the long night and nightmare of the Dark Ages and the Middle Ages, it was to the spirit of the great days of Greece and the great days of Rome that the men of the Renaissance returned in their search for moral and intellectual freedom.

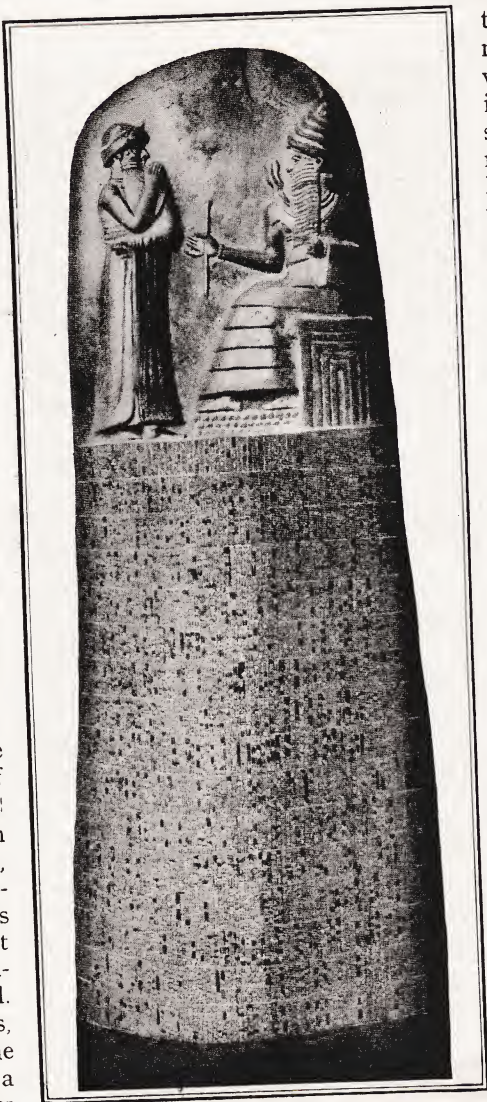
Offshoots of the same race, the Greeks and the Romans founded their early communities on identical lines. The three great political subdivisions were the tribe, the clan, and the phratry—Roman curia—or local association linked by certain religious rites. In both cases we find that the voice of the body of free citizens makes itself early heard and obeyed. There is a "king" or leader who has likewise priestly functions in his rôle of intermediary between the folk and their gods. The king is supported by a council, probably of elder statesmen. In order to carry out any project he must obtain the consent of the council. But that was not sufficient. If the people duly assembled withheld their approval the project could not be realized.

Here we discover, as in diagram, the main contour of our own political institutions. In these early states, indeed, representative government, as we know it, did not exist. The communities were small. Primitive Athens, like primitive Rome possessed only a few square miles of territory. The entire body of citizens sat in assembly and passed legislation. But a great discovery had been

made—the discovery that success in government and public order depends upon as complete an identification of interests as possible.

Despite the political paralysis which finally overtook Greece this was the light that shone in her. And in republican Rome, throughout the many changes which took place in her political structure, we are never allowed to lose sight of the vital idea of public rights.

It is essential to note, however, one remarkable contrast in the development of the two great sister nations of classical antiquity. Identical in their political beginnings, the one wholly diverged from the other on a different road of evolution. Whereas in Rome the tendency was towards cohesion and centralization, in Greece separatist influences remained active till the end, and were, indeed, one of the main causes of her failure. To put it in another way, in Greece the movement was centrifugal, in Rome it was centripetal. There was an Athenian and even a Spartan empire, and still later an attempt at empire by Thebes, but in each case the venture miscarried.



THE CODE OF HAMMURABI

Perhaps the most interesting piece of engraved stone in all the world is this small diorite column, which is now in the Paris Louvre, containing a summary of the astonishing laws of the Babylonian Empire under King Hammurabi, about 2100 B.C. The king receiving the laws from the sun god is sculptured at the top

There was something miniature in the Greek city state, which was like a cameo, in comparison with the vast canvas of Rome. Even within the narrow boundaries of Greece the attempt at unity was unrealized owing to the commercial jealousies of the separate states.

On the other hand, Rome, which grew out of the humble nucleus of a city that was little more than a village, allied herself with sister communities, and by a gradual process of expansion and absorption within and without the peninsula attained and far surpassed the massive proportions of the empires of the East, and became their territorial heir. In the sphere of administration and of law Rome left a far deeper mark than Greece on European institutions. After the Empire had fallen and the Church sat throned on the ruins of the imperial city it was still to pagan Rome that the founders of the new European states looked back in their attempt at reconstruction.

Athens might have become the chief agent in the attainment of permanent unity among the Greek states, but she failed mainly owing to her restriction of Athenian citizenship to those who could prove Athenian origin. Moreover, her policy of taxation of her dependents was as little far-sighted as her system of franchise.

On the contrary, the policy of Rome towards her colonies and subject states was, like the policy of Great Britain, conceived on broad and generous lines. Whenever possible she granted autonomy even to a recent enemy, as Britain granted it to South Africa almost as soon as the South African War was at an end.

The secret of Rome's power of absorbing her conquered peoples lay in the skill with which she granted the rights of citizenship. Many of her proconsuls were, indeed, guilty of extortion, and the provinces were drained of their wealth for the sake of the grandees of the capital. But these things happened when the period of decline had already begun in the republic as well as in the empire. There can be no doubt that the duration of the Roman state may be partly explained by the far-sighted character of her colonial policy, whereas the brief brilliance of Greece may be partly attributed to less



A BOUNDARY STONE OF BABYLONIA

Set up to mark the extent of a private individual's estate, it is inscribed with certain texts which refer very clearly to the ownership of the land during the reigns of two kings, about 1000 B.C. This stone is now among the treasures of the British Museum, London

genius in the science of government.

Various vices—moral, political, and economic—attended the Greek decline. The loss of productive power following incessant and internecine strife, and a startling fall in the birth-rate—even Aristotle advocated abortion in order to prevent overgrowth of population in the cities—were accompanied by a decay

of public spirit and by political apathy. The racial suicide with which France is threatened to-day was so active in Greece that in the first century A.D., according to Plutarch, the entire country was incapable of furnishing even three thousand infantrymen. The free citizens were enormously outnumbered by the slave population. It has been calculated that in the great age of Athenian culture four-fifths of the population of Attica were slaves.

Once more we are face to face with a society resting on artificial foundations. In the ancient republics liberty was enjoyed only at the top. Even supposing the policy of Pericles regarding the franchise had been wiser, and that Athens had secured a more permanent empire, the seeds of dissolution already lay sown in the lower social strata. Her slaves were perhaps happier than the modern slaves in the southern states of the American Union and in Jamaica. It is hard to say. But in any case, and apart from moral considerations, the economic effect was ruinous.

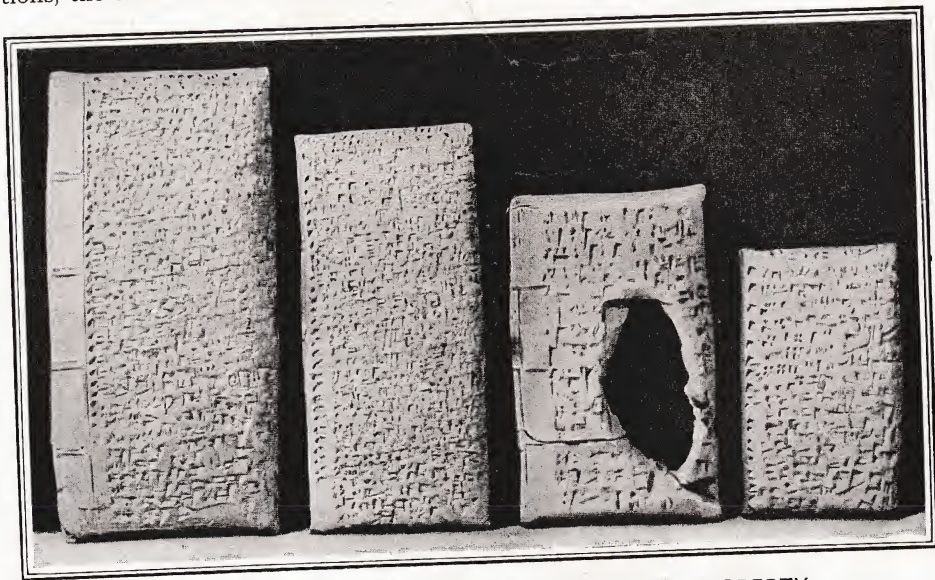
An idle minority of citizens were living like parasites on the labour of a servile class. In the fourth century the best Greek minds pointed to moral causes in explanation of the lassitude and collapse of Greece in presence of the virile invader from the north. The subjection to Macedon was only the prelude to the subjection to Rome.

ALL great nations of history present a similar spectacle of growth, flourishing, and decay

History, indeed, appears to present us with an ever-recurring cycle in the life of nations.

The first period is marked by the attempt of the early community to hold together amid surrounding enemies. Fusions and alliances take place, and we watch the gravitation of power to one centre rather than to another.

In the second phase the community has accumulated greater energy, has become more aggressive, and its military strength has become formidable. Rivals have been vanquished and absorbed. The acquisition of territory has brought



ANCIENT SECURITY FOR THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY

Few items among the litter of Babylonian remains are more interesting than these contract records, inscribed, like all the literature of that strange and ancient people, first in soft clay and made permanent by baking afterwards. The two on the left record the division of their father's property by five brothers in Hammurabi's time, and the two on the right set out the details of the sale of a house. The complexities of a great civilization had been mastered in Babylonia

Photo Mansell & Co.

wealth, and the choice of strategic frontiers has brought security. But the territorial expansion has demanded certain adjustments in the framework of government, and there is a tendency to bureaucracy and centralization. A consolidation of power and privilege accompanies the growing complexity of the administrative system. The original nucleus is now the centre of a great circumference, and the state is at its zenith.

QUALITIES in which Roman character resembled the British in days of empire building

In the third phase, prosperity, wealth, and ease threaten to sap the nation's vitality. The people are living upon the capital of prestige and energy created in the past. Decay has set in, and it may be rapid, as in the case of Greece, or the state, as in the case of Rome, may suffer a long decline.

Such in rough outline appears to be the mortal trajectory described by the nations of the ancient world. Each of them, like an individual who has done his life's work well or ill, passed away, and the accumulated forces were dissipated or entered into new combinations. When we look back to the beginnings of Rome we observe a cautious movement in *adagio* and *andante*, but presently there is an acceleration towards the *allegro* and *vivace* of conquest in the *crescendo* of empire. And there can be no *crescendo* without preparation. In about one hundred years Rome subdued all her enemies and became the mistress of the world. What massed energies lie behind that single fact!

Those who wish to study the prolonged preparatory discipline to which the Romans subjected themselves for their imperial task may turn to the pages of Mommsen, and there are the pages of Gibbon for those who desire to watch the slow *diminuendo* and *finale*.

Here we can only remind the reader that the territorial aggrandisement of the state was the work of the militant republic, and that it was under the republic that the virtues generally identified as Roman and Western were

fully developed. The Roman genius for government was trained and perfected in the internal conflict between patricians and plebs. How jealously the latter guarded the sacredness of public right is seen in the creation of the tribunate, an institution unknown to the Greeks. The tribune, whose person was inviolate, was more than a liaison officer between the two sides. Later he became a factor in the government, and his duty was to vindicate the claims of the free citizens.

In the search for justice and fair play (except towards the slaves, and yet even in their behalf humaner legislation was introduced) the Roman character most resembles the British. There is a certain massiveness and breadth in the policy of both peoples which is not discoverable elsewhere. They are the two most successful colonising states which history knows, and with some exceptions their overseas policy is remarkably alike. Both posted pickets of empire in every corner of the world. In the years to be—let us say in the thirtieth century—it will be impossible for any student to understand the course of history without a study of the rise and influence of the British Empire. So to-day modern civilization is unintelligible to us unless we know something of the contribution of Rome. The traces of her activity are everywhere around us. She was here in Britain, and remained some five centuries.

THE material and intellectual legacies of Rome to the modern world are inestimable

In Britain, as on the Continent, she left not merely the material remains of her civilization, but the legacy of her language and her institutions. France is full of her relics. The fortifications of Nîmes, like those of Chester, were Roman, and in the building and buttressing of her Constitution, France, even in modern times, still borrowed from Rome. The system of the prefecture, whereby in the different departments of the state the Prefect (*præfectus*) represents the government was



"OVER HER VAST GRAVE THERE NOW GROW A FEW TAMARISKS"
 Despite their splendour and glory, all the great empires of the past—Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome—have dwindled into dust. Though many of their laws were wise and liberal, each of these great states was ruthlessly built up on the blood and bones of enslaved millions, and thus carried at its heart the canker of its eventual decay. In the fine words of our author: "When we read of the glory of Babylon let us remember that in her markets the price of a male slave was thirty shillings. Over her vast grave there now grow a few tamarisks"

Photo, Underwood & Underwood

a Roman creation. And why is Spanish a modern variant of Latin? Only because very long ago Carthage, the hereditary enemy of the Romans, having seized Spain as a base for the attack on Italy was checked in time. For Rome marched into Spain, overthrew the invader, and annexed the country (201 B.C.).

And yet the day came when Rome's immense activities ceased, and when her people were overtaken by collective weariness. New forces were awake. In the opinion of Gibbon, the decline of the Roman Empire is "the greatest

and most awful scene in the history of mankind." Perhaps the fact which, more than all others, creates astonishment is that a people who made a contribution of such magnitude to civilization and order, and who framed the greatest system of law which the world has known, fell before a horde of barbarians.

We cannot refrain from pointing out once again that the collapse can never fully be explained without reference to economic causes which, in turn, veil causes of a deeper kind. The land problem and the slave problem were

closely connected. The great estates (latifundia), on which slave labour was employed on a vast scale, had fallen into the hands of a few magnates. Rome had conquered the world, but degeneration had already set in at the centre. Free labour, when it happened to exist at all, was so meanly remunerated that it failed in competition with the slave market. It has been calculated that when the free citizens of Rome numbered 320,000 the slave population reached nearly a million.

THE *final causes of the long decline and chaotic fall of the Roman Empire*

In and around the capital alone, therefore, there existed an immense and fatal disproportion of powers and rights. The creators of wealth were themselves wageless, and, while the birth-rate decreased in the upper, it increased enormously in the labouring class. There had been revolutions of the slaves, but they had all been crushed. The day of the emancipation of labour and of its share in political responsibility was still far off. A luxurious minority living on the fruits of servile industry is not a state.

Lastly, the genius for administration which had controlled so marvellously and for so many centuries the dangerous and subversive elements of which the Roman world was composed, at length forsook the ruling class, and government and governed alike went down before the invader.

The eras of human history are not shut off from each other by closed gates. In the chaos which followed the dilapidation of the Roman Empire we already descry, although dimly, the forces which were to reconstruct the European system. It is true that the great roads which had connected Rome with her dependencies were blocked and barred, and no new traffic, either of commerce or of the arts, passed over them. The communities which, as distant as Britain, had looked to Rome for military support and administrative guidance, were left isolated to fight for themselves,

and, after a precarious existence, to accept membership in alien nations.

The disappearance of Rome had caused far and wide a political earthquake, and its reverberations were felt throughout many centuries. The Teutonic destroyers of Latin civilization were themselves uncivilized, and attempted to learn slowly methods of government, compared with which their own tribal law and administration were rude and primitive.

The period from the fifth till the tenth century is known as the "Dark Ages." The lines of communication with the older world appeared to be wholly severed. Nevertheless, the magic name of Rome remained, and the barbarians expressed their awe in presence of her ruin and of the imperial task which she had accomplished. Moreover, out of the confusion two new Powers arose—the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy—and the operations of the former in the secular and of the latter in the spiritual sphere fill the record of what is called the medieval period. But the term "Middle Ages" is really a misnomer. History is an ever-flowing stream. There are no Middle Ages. We are now in the twentieth century, and let us ask in what sense a student in the thirtieth century will be able to understand the term "Middle Ages"? To him our own era may seem medieval, and how will he designate the period which is known as medieval to us?

THE *great period of transition from ancient to modern society and the opposing forces*

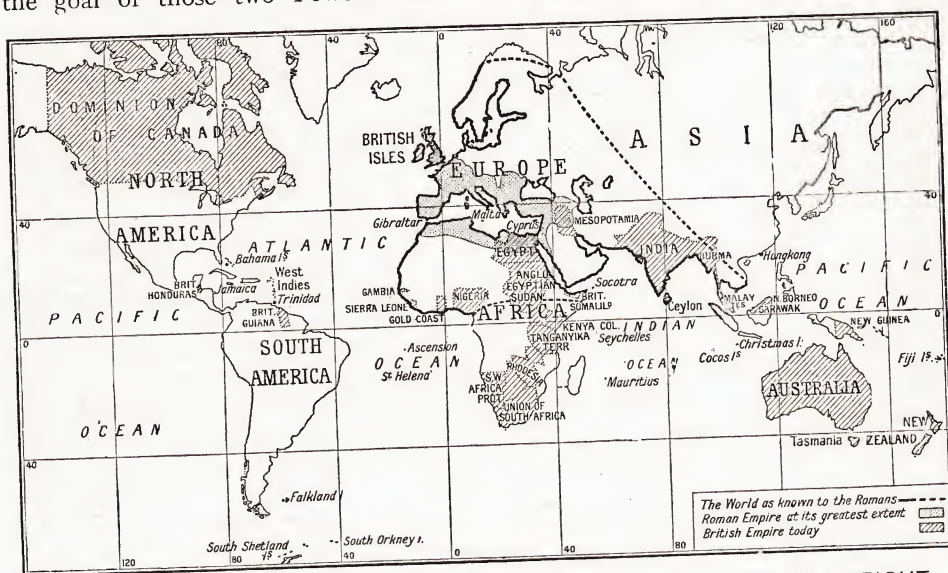
The truth is that history cannot be walled off in sections, for there is a constant overlapping of influences. Although, therefore, we recognize the arrest and stagnation which overtook European civilization, the loss of art and of law when the power of ancient Rome was withdrawn, we prefer to regard the entire period from the fifth century till the discovery of America in 1492 as the great period of transition from ancient to modern society. It was the period of gestation of the forces

which were in due course, to create the nations of to-day.

Now, the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy fought against those forces, and they both failed. Each of them, now in cooperation and now in antagonism, attempted to preserve the social framework which had been Rome's legacy to the world. There was to be a kind of dual universal monarchy, one secular and the other spiritual, in the affairs of men. Absolute uniformity in religion and in state institutions was the goal of those two Powers which

1806, when Francis II. of Austria informed the Germanic Diet that he had resigned his crown as Roman Emperor. But that Empire had been a dream rather than a reality from the beginning, and its concord with the Papacy was of brief duration.

Both Empire and Papacy failed to impose upon Europe that uniformity of rule for which Dante, weary of the world's confusion, so ardently longed. The ideal, indeed, was not wanting in a certain grandeur, but, even although the temporal and the spiritual power



THE BRITISH EMPIRE TO-DAY AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT ITS HEIGHT

Of all the imperial races the two best endowed with the genius of colonisation have been the Romans and the British. Within the limits of the world as then known, Rome predominated to an even greater extent than Britain does within the wider world of modern knowledge, though Rome's remotest outposts of empire look curiously near the capital city in comparison with the widespread British dominions of our day

entered into partnership for the government of Europe. The pact—if we may so name it—was consummated in A.D. 800, when Charlemagne was crowned Emperor by Pope Leo III. in Rome. This has been called by Bryce "the central event of the Middle Ages."

It may be so, but the Holy Roman Empire of Charlemagne and his successors was only a shadow and simulacrum of the empire of the Caesars. A wit declared that it was neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire. It came to an end officially only as late as August,

had acted in unison, it was an ideal impossible of realization. The dynamic forces which were to awaken the modern world were being generated by national groups under the kingship in England, in France, and even in Spain, although Spain gave to the Holy Roman Empire one of its greatest representatives, Charles V., the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella. In Italy, too, when the Pope had become a monarch, new and yet old political forces were at work in the republics like Venice, Florence, Genoa, and Pisa, who were jealous of their independence.

The configuration of Europe, which we see to-day, was already taking shape in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the centralizing efforts of Empire and Papacy were doomed to failure. The Papacy triumphed over the Empire, but its own spiritual absolutism was in turn impeached, and the Reformation destroyed the unity of Christendom.

THE *thrill of new thought and emotion that came with the end of the Middle Ages*

Perhaps it is worth noting here, as characteristic of the political instinct of the English people, that when Edward III. was elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1347), Parliament forbade him to accept the honour. Another English king, Henry VIII., became a candidate (unelected) for the same throne in 1519, and that date will serve to remind us that the forces of political and religious disintegration were already busy on the Continent. The Diet of Worms, to which, by a strange irony, Charles (the successful candidate for the imperial throne) was compelled to grant a safe conduct to Luther, sat in January, 1521. The Reformation had come, and it, too, arose out of those strange fervent energies, which awoke in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, and characterise the period called the Renaissance.

It was once customary to restrict the Renaissance to that revival of learning which originated in Italy. But we now know that the movement has a wider and deeper significance. It was accompanied by an expansion, not only in the sphere of intellectual, but also in the sphere of practical life. The re-discovery of the art and poetry and philosophy of Greece, and the re-study of the literature and the law of Rome mark, indeed, the most momentous stage in the history of culture.

The thrill of new thought and new emotion, which we find in the works of Da Vinci and Raphael and Michelangelo, in Velazquez and Cervantes and Calderon, in Chaucer, in Shakespeare, and in Bacon, is felt far into the eighteenth century and reappears in

Rousseau and Voltaire. For the Renaissance was creative as well as receptive, and looked to the future while it studied the great models of expression in the past. In many directions, and especially in the art of painting, it brought new beauty into the world.

Again, whatever value may be attached to the speculative activities of the era of scholasticism, mankind would have remained stagnant if human thinking had been perpetually cribbed and cabined in theological formulae. But after the long imprisonment we begin to hear the last clanking of the intellectual chains which bound the Middle Ages, and the liberated spirit is preparing for fresh enterprise.

Moreover, this intellectual resurrection was attended by an advance in practical discovery and invention. The compass was already waiting to be used by Christopher Columbus on his voyage to America, and the telescope was likewise waiting to be used by such scientific innovators as Copernicus (1473—1543) and Galileo (1564—1642). The manufacture of paper had received a new impetus, and the printing press—the greatest invention of all—was disseminating the new knowledge. The feudal system, with its gangs of serfs, who had replaced the earlier generations of slaves, received its death-blow from the new military weapons which the invention of gunpowder had introduced.

THE *fruit of the great period of discovery which was an outcome of the Renaissance*

All was changing, like the face of the earth when the efflorescence of spring covers the landscape which had been winterbound. Already in 1433 Prince Henry the Navigator, with his Portuguese seamen, was exploring the Atlantic. Cam discovered the Congo river in 1484-5, and Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope in 1488. At two o'clock on the morning of October 12th, 1492, a sailor on board the Niña, one of the ships of Columbus, sighted land, and on the same morning Columbus stepped on shore at San Salvador. America had



THE SOLDIERS OF ROME WHO BUILT UP HER EMPIRE

What manner of men were they who in their wonderful legions marched and counter-marched 'twixt Britain and Mesopotamia, and by their superb training and discipline overcame all enemies, building up within the term of a century the power of Rome as mistress of the world? Depicted by a contemporary sculptor, there are many fine groups of them to be studied among the reliefs on the Antonine Column, from which the above is reproduced

Photo, Anderson

been discovered. Vasco da Gama sailed from Lisbon in 1497, and after a voyage of eleven months anchored off the coast of India in May, 1498. Cortés was marching through Mexico in 1519, in 1526 Pizarro reached Peru, and ten years later his lieutenant Almagro conquered Chile. The banners of Portugal and of Spain were waving in India and in America, and the great era of European colonisation had begun.

John Cabot sailed from Bristol in 1497, and in June of the same year sighted Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia, and his son Sebastian was cruising off Brazil in 1526. Jacques Cartier reached Newfoundland in 1534, and two years later he discovered the St. Lawrence. In the third quarter of the sixteenth century Drake had circumnavigated the globe. In 1584 Raleigh sent out the fleet which

founded Virginia, and eleven years later he was at Trinidad and on the Orinoco. English merchants were already settled in India in 1583, and in 1600, under a charter granted by Queen Elizabeth, the East India Company was founded.

We have chosen these scattered facts to indicate the stir and excitement which they must have caused in a Europe which had already grown old and exhausted on the banks of its own rivers and the shores of its own seas. Men now knew that there were other lands and seas and rivers which beckoned the spirit of adventure to advance. The fascination of travellers' tales, which happened to be true, had caught the ear of Shakespeare, whose Prospero in "The Tempest" makes Ariel

"fetch dew
From the still-vex'd Bermoothes."

The Bermudas were discovered early in the sixteenth century, by another Spaniard, Juan Bermudez, but they became an English possession before Shakespeare died. Although the energies of the Renaissance awoke in our own country later than in Italy and Spain, Germany and France, it was Great Britain that became the chief gainer, by the work of the explorers, in India and in America as well as in the islands of the Atlantic and the Pacific.

WHAT sort of Europe should we have seen to-day had there been no Renaissance?

The most momentous fact of all in this period of transition remains to be mentioned. The Mayflower sailed from Plymouth on November 11th (O.S.), 1620, and arrived in Massachusetts in December. The impulse towards individual freedom, which was the essence of the Renaissance, had likewise fired the forefathers of the men who were to return to take part in the Great War, 1914-1918, which revindicated the liberties of Europe.

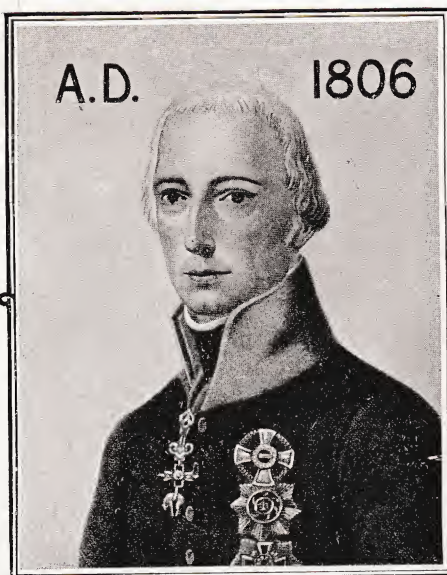
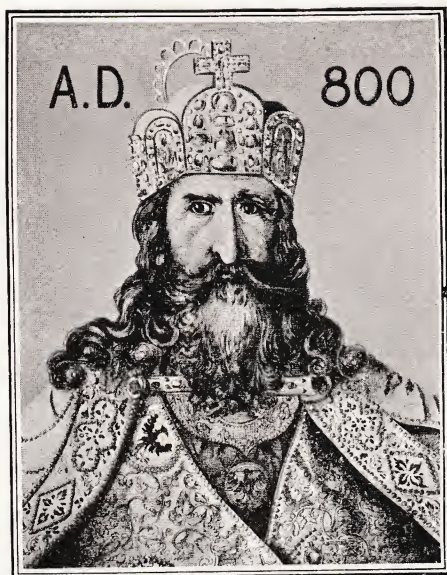
This brief reference to the Renaissance has been necessary because the spirit of that movement is still alive in the nations of the modern world. In the "rebirth" of human energy for humane as well as for "humanistic" purposes lies the hope of progress. The Renaissance is never at an end. Its message was and is that human life is a quest, and that the spirit of man outgrows all barren formulae. The iron circuit of the Middle Ages was broken.

Let us ask what sort of a Europe this would still be if there had been no Renaissance. The counter-revolution engineered by all the forces of absolutism, the Saint Bartholomews and Smithfields, the autos da fé in Spain, the intimidation of the new science, the vivi-cremation of Giordano Bruno, and the horrors of religious persecution in the Netherlands, all failed to quench the new spirit. If we look upon the Spanish Armada of 1588 as embodying and leading to the attack the forces of absolutism, secular and spiritual, we may feel some decent pride in the thought that it was Britain that shattered it.

We have mentioned Babylon, Greece, and Rome as representative states which created problems of empire that they were finally unable to solve, met rivals in the arena of history, and disappeared. This searching test of the nations, however, is still active and inexorable in the modern world. We saw that forces liberated in the Renaissance met and defeated Philip II. of Spain in his great attempt to re-establish in Europe the absolutism of the Hapsburgs and of the Papacy. But that was not to be the last effort or the last defeat of absolutism. In the two succeeding centuries, and especially during the reign of Louis XIV., France became formidable to European liberty, and in spite of the convulsion in 1789 she became later, under Napoleon, the most aggressive Power in the world. But she suffered defeat in 1815. Russia, which created a vast empire by remorseless aggression and consolidated an absolute Tsardom, is lying in chaos and economic ruin to-day. Prussia, whose strength increased rapidly under Frederick the Great, survived her disaster in the Napoleonic wars, and in due time placed herself at the head of the German Confederation. She increased her territory at the expense of Denmark, Austria, and France, and became with her federal states the greatest military Power the world has known. But her defeat came in 1918, while Austria, which had likewise survived the onslaught of Napoleon, lies at last dismembered and in ruins.

ELEMENTAL forces that breed revolt in states and produce continual change

What is this mysterious law which builds up and then breaks down a state? While the great nations are reaching their zenith the smaller exist under their shadow in perpetual fear of aggression and the loss of territorial rights. In certain cases, as for instance in the case of Switzerland, security can be explained only by the cynical fact that for strategic reasons her surrounding neighbours found it advantageous to guarantee her neutrality. Out of this



THE CENTRAL EVENT OF THE MIDDLE AGES

One of the most interesting episodes in the history of nations is that of the Holy Roman Empire, concerning which a wit has said that it was neither Holy, nor Roman, nor was it an Empire. It was, in effect, the effort of kings and emperors for a thousand years to carry on the tradition of Rome's imperial power in the interests chiefly of kings and emperors, and it began with the crowning of Charlemagne in 800 and ended with the resignation as Roman Emperor of Francis II, of Austria in 1806

long conflict in which nations have been shaped and trained in Asia and in Europe, in Africa and in the New World, one fact seems to emerge: like the forces of Nature the forces of human history are explosive. The great groups which we call nations contain volcanic and inflammable elements, the area of combustion may be narrow or wide, the moment of ignition may be soon or late, but at last the conflagration bursts. We cannot doubt that there is a close relation between this human unrest and the failure of the state. But since a well-governed state may succumb to a more powerful neighbour, the search for the moral causes of decline becomes more difficult.

We might call the idea of Freedom the high-explosive of history, for, in the end, it has broken down one after another every Bastille of arbitrary power. Great as were the indirect and ultimate political effects of the Renaissance and the Reformation neither of those movements had a political motive or a political origin. It is in the French Revolution that we discover, not indeed the earliest, but the most vehement and dramatic expression of rights. French

thinkers who preceded the Revolution had been profoundly impressed by the events in England in the seventeenth century and especially by the Revolution of 1688. And the actual leaders of the Revolution found inspiration and encouragement in the American Declaration of Independence (1776).

THE factor of national disturbance which industry introduced to the modern world

Lafayette brought home from America the aphorism that resistance is a sacred duty. Members of the French aristocracy who had crossed the ocean to fight in the American armies returned to Europe convinced of the truth of democracy. But the commotion in France was unaccompanied by the constructive political genius which created federation in the American Colonies. In France the Revolution signified the transition from feudalism and absolutism, but in no other country had the break with the past been so convulsive.

If the federal principle had been adopted by France there might have been no Napoleon. But out of the seismic chaos of the Revolution came Napoleon, and a new attempt at



A MAN AND A SHIP THAT ALTERED THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

The era of discovery which sent the mariners of Spain and Portugal overseas in quest of new lands and fabled riches had its greatest event in the voyage of Columbus to America in 1492. The "long-voyage ship," to which Sir Arthur Keith in the preceding chapter attributes so much importance in the development of the nations, had its most notable example in the little Santa Maria of Columbus. Our picture is a photograph of an actual duplicate of his vessel, which was sailed across the Atlantic for the World's Columbian Exhibition at Chicago in 1893

European absolutism which involved Europe in a new series of wars. In other words, France had missed a great historical opportunity and soon forgot the great doctrines of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" which had been emblazoned on her Revolutionary banner.

It was not the labouring population, it was the middle class which gained most by the Revolution. In the Declaration of the Rights of Man the private ownership of property is not only sanctioned but is defined as "an inviolable and sacred right." The estates of the noblesse and of the Church were, indeed, confiscated and partitioned, but only for purposes of sale to the highest bidder. In fact, a new conception of the state had arisen, the conception that the state is an arena for free competition for the prizes of life. But it is precisely this conception which lies at the root of modern industrial unrest and has created the

class war. Rank was abolished, but it soon returned, and found itself elbowing the new aristocracy of wealth. Besides, the protagonists of the Revolution belonged to the middle class. Robespierre was an avocat, Danton another, Sieyès an abbé, Marat a doctor, Fouquier-Tinville an attorney, Collet d'Herbois an actor, and Saint Just, like Camille Desmoulins, had studied law and letters. Such men had no genuine desire for "equality." The nineteenth and the twentieth centuries would hear and would satisfy demands from the proletariat which would have made Sieyès and Saint Just stand aghast.

France, in fact, had been in volcanic travail in order that the bourgeoisie might consolidate their position before the new era of modern industry, which would replace the aristocracy of land by the aristocracy of capital, had set in. Moreover, the Revolution, which



MODIFYING INFLUENCE OF ANOTHER SHIP AND OTHER MEN

As interesting companions to Columbus and his ship we give here a reproduction of a model of the Mayflower, and the portrait of a Puritan, typical of those who are remembered to-day as the Pilgrim Fathers. The most momentous fact in the period of transition which followed the era of discovery was the rôle which the Mayflower and its passengers were to play in the history of the great North American continent. This little ship and the men and women that it carried were to make Northern America Anglo-Saxon both in character and in speech

From a model made by Goulding & Co., Plymouth, for the Mayflower tercentenary

was to destroy all tyrannies, ended inevitably in Napoleon and in militarism, in a vast burden of debt, and in Waterloo.

Is history then merely a Penelope's web of which the nations are the weavers, and which is woven up during one century only to be unwoven in the next? Is its record only a necrology of nations? And must one generation accumulate abuses which the next must sweep away?

The great military and economic effort of France in the seventeenth century was only a preparation for the deeper corruption of the succeeding age and for the catastrophe of the Revolution. Is there, then, no finality in this endless experiment of nations?

Now, from the downfall of Napoleon in 1815 until the downfall of the German Emperor and his allies in 1918 there had taken place in Europe a vast economic reconstruction owing to the use of

steam and, later, of electricity for industrial purposes. Modern wealth began to be created by new processes of manufacture, and the towns, as the centres of industry, attracted the country population to the great factories. These economic changes created in all nations social problems which still await solution. Moreover, the new activities of world commerce brought about changes not only within the nations, but between them, for there was a struggle for markets more intense than the old system of international barter had ever known. Again, the social status of the labouring class in one nation became of interest to the working class in another, and the doctrine of the solidarity of labour throughout the civilized world began to attract attention.

The social and economic history of the nineteenth century is mainly the

history of the struggle between Capital and Labour, not in one, but in every nation. In order to be able to measure the vast change which has taken place within less than a hundred years in our own country, it is sufficient to remember that in 1825 Trade Unionism was not merely illegal, but criminal, and was defined in English law as "a conspiracy in restraint of trade." We have seen that ancient society ignored the fact that a man's labour is his most sacred property. It solved its industrial problem by purchasing slaves. But the introduction of the wage-earning class, who became gradually insistent on the realization of their own economic and political rights, has brought a new factor of national disturbance into the modern world.

COMMERCE is the most aggressive force in international relationships of our own time

Moreover, in spite of the dream of the solidarity of labour everywhere, the industrial class of one nation competes for the world's markets with the industrial classes of other nations. The task of every state is double :

1. Internally to adjust the relations between its own members, and
2. Externally to adjust its relations with other states.

These two problems are closely connected, and would lead us into a discussion of such subjects as Free Trade and Protection. It is sufficient to note that a relentless competition takes place between the great organized national groups, and that that competition very frequently leads to war. For the greater the extent of territory, the greater the resources, and the greater the chance of economic superiority.

The country rich in coal and iron and oil and other raw materials will secure supremacy in the field of manufacture and trade. And since economic supremacy is not only a cause, but also an effect of military power, the temptation to expand becomes irresistible, especially if the question of over-population becomes pressing. Here we glance at the supreme problem of the modern peoples.

It is probable that the historians of the future will assign certain economic causes as among the factors which brought about the struggle of the nations in 1914. The focus of interest lies, of course, in the development of modern Germany as a military and industrial Power. To the old historical feud between Germany and France was added the formidable industrial menace of the most industrious people in Europe. Germany was becoming predominant in Central Europe and elsewhere, and the appetite increases by what it feeds on. Her industrialism financed her militarism, and her militarism promised her industrialism new fields for expansion. A new and more insidious absolutism threatened Europe.

But there had once been another Germany of "humanism," the Germany of Lessing and Goethe, the Schlegels, Winckelmann and Beethoven. The temperamental change which took place in the German people can be traced to the victories of Frederick the Great. Their educational system was framed with a view to inspiring the young with the Pan-German ideal of a Deutschland victorious in every field of human activity. The German commercial became only less aggressive than the German military battalions. Germany was the Assyria of the West, Assyrian in her energy, her ruthlessness, and her pride.

GERMANY'S downfall was due to an excess of energy and abuse of it, not to decay

If we count Luxemburg, we find that the frontiers of eight foreign states surrounded her. Thus compelled to become a military power, it was the strategic weakness of her geographical situation which transformed her into an armed camp, and her standing army became a standing menace to the rest of Europe.

As she transformed herself from an agricultural to an industrial community her energies increased and sought an outlet in all directions, and especially towards the sea. The old Baltic trade was insufficient, and Germany, looking

towards the North Sea and the Atlantic, began to build ships. But on the sea she met Great Britain. Her military engineers wrought marvels with her contracted sea-board. The Kiel Canal strengthened the strategic position, because it doubled the striking power of the fleet. We hint at these economic facts because they must be added to the immediate causes of the war—the strokes and counter-strokes of a deceptive diplomacy, and the ambitions of a group of men leading and misleading a group of nations.

History is full of paradox. When the mechanical maelstrom of modern war was let loose in 1914 Great Britain became the enemy of the Power with whom she had never had a quarrel and the ally of her own hereditary foe. Let us observe that the downfall of the German Empire cannot be explained by the cycle of exhaustion and decline. Germany was reaching the zenith of power. So great was that power that in order to overthrow it the European Allies required the help of the United States. It was not because Germany had too little, but because she had too much energy, and was about to misuse it against the liberties of the world, that her defeat was due.

We are now in a position to ask: What has been the rôle of Great Britain in the history of nations? It is a most remarkable and significant fact that four times within four hundred years and very near the end or beginning of the centuries Britain intervened decisively in European affairs.

THE part played by Great Britain during four centuries in the history of nations

We saw that in 1588 she defeated the absolutism of Spain and thereby saved the secular and spiritual liberties which the Renaissance and the Reformation had affirmed. But again towards the close of the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth century Britain checked the absolutism of France as represented by Louis XIV., and defeated it at Blenheim, 1704, Ramillies, 1706, Oudenarde, 1708, Malplaquet, 1709. At the end of

the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries Britain was again on the Continent, and defeated the new absolutism of Napoleon in 1815. And at the beginning of the twentieth century in 1914, in alliance with Belgium and France, she became the main agent in the defeat of Germany in 1918.

It is, indeed, useless to pretend that in these interventions Great Britain was not protecting her own interests. It is no less true that she was protecting the common liberties of mankind.

BRITISH Nation, by reason of its history, always to be found on the side of liberty

The rôle of equilibrator seemed to belong by nature to a Power detached from Europe and yet so close to it. A people who had won their Magna Carta (1215), and Habeas Corpus, and had framed their Bill of Rights (1689), found themselves instinctively on the side of liberty, wherever it was imperilled.

The record is doubtless stained by the policy which led to the loss of the American colonies, by certain events in the early administration of India, by the early struggles in Wales, and by the long struggle in Ireland. But as regards America, the best minds of the day expressed the conscience of the country in denunciation of the misguided government of a German king.

"This universal opposition," said Chatham, "to your arbitrary system of taxation, which now pervades America, is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship-money in this country, is the same spirit which roused all England to action at the Revolution, and which established, at a remote era, your liberties, on the basis of that grand fundamental maxim of the Constitution, that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent. To maintain this principle is the common cause of the Whigs on the other side of the Atlantic and on this. . . . Resistance to your acts was as necessary as it was just."

These words, spoken in 1775, express the British ideal of government, and their spirit is the secret of the Empire. It is the verdict of impartial historians that the vast overseas possessions which Great Britain won at the expense of her European rivals have enjoyed sounder

government than would have been their lot if they had remained in the hands of Spain, Portugal, and even of France. The guiding policy has been that revenue raised in the Colonies must be spent on the Colonies, and that the arbitrary taxation which Chatham abhorred should find no place in the Dependencies as it finds none in the Mother Country.

THE tribute which the Constitution of the United States pays to British ideals

Perhaps, however, the greatest tribute which has been paid to the essential sanity and justice of the British conception of the state lies in the fact that the founders of the American Republic incorporated in their Constitution the main provisions of the Bill of Rights. The original schedule drawn up in 1689 was no new creation, but only vigorously reaffirmed the principles of the Common Laws which are shared by our kin on the other side of the Atlantic. It is worth while to reproduce here the main provisions of the Bill of Rights, because they are an epitome of English history. It is an Act which declares among other things—

“That the pretended power of suspending of laws or the execution of laws by regal authority without consent of Parliament is illegal. That levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative without grant of Parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law. That elections of Members of Parliament ought to be free. That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament. That excessive bail ought not to be required nor excessive fines imposed nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void.”

This impressive declaration closes with the statement by Lords and Commons “that they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises as their undoubted rights and

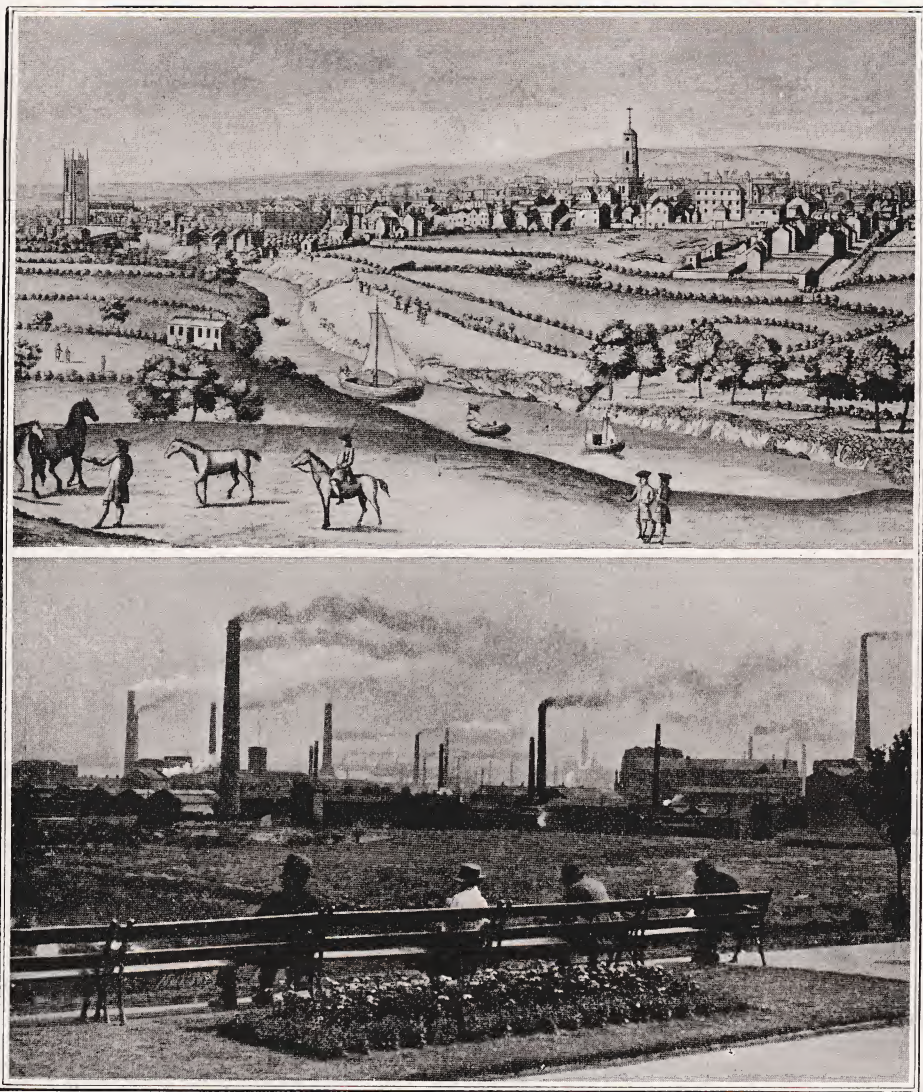
liberties.” These principles were the gift of the Mother Island to the Anglo-Saxon world which was her offspring, and it was in defence of such liberties that the United States and the British Dominions sent their vast armies to Europe during the Great War.

If we turn to Burke's speech “On Conciliation with America” we shall find the ideal of the British Empire stated in language which might have been uttered to-day. “The fierce spirit of liberty,” says Burke, “is stronger in the English Colonies probably than in any other people of the earth. It is the spirit of the English Constitution, which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the Empire, even down to the minutest member.”

Now, if we take 1066 as the date on which the last infusion of foreign blood with the blood of the island stock began, this country has been inviolate for almost one thousand years. Of all the European nations Britain alone during that long period has suffered no real disaster to the fabric of her power. The blows from without as well as from within did not break, they only riveted the framework of her freedom. She holds in the modern the place which Rome held in the ancient world. From the Great War she has emerged with an increase in her vast territory.

IMMENSITY of the burden of empire which fate has shouldered upon Great Britain

If we reckon up the schedule of her commitments throughout the earth it is almost with a sense of awe that we remember that her colossal expansion can be traced from the nucleus of one small island. Even her enemies have admitted that wherever the long radius of her civilization has reached it has brought order and progress. Pitt once said “England has saved herself by her exertions, she will save Europe by her example.” But her “destiny” was on the sea, and took her far out of Europe and linked with her own fortunes those of millions of human beings of alien race and speech.



THE MAKING OF THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL CITIES

The vast economic reconstruction which took place last century in the era of industrial expansion changed the face of the world in all regions where industry could be made profitable. Look here at Manchester as it is to-day in the lower photograph, with its multitude of chimneys befouling the landscape, and the same scene as it was presented one hundred and ninety years ago. The change is probably artistically and hygienically for the worse, but who shall say that the industrial expansion . . . has not immensely added to the general comfort of mankind ?

Napoleon called the British a nation of shop-keepers. But we are also a nation of ship-keepers. Behind shops there are workshops. Ships and shops—these have made England.

In the preceding sketch our course has been inevitably zigzag, but we have attempted to collect some stray facts which are of importance in the discussion of an immense subject. A few

thoughts suggest themselves here. First, in spite of the exhaustion and decline of nations, national tenacity is one of the outstanding facts of history. Peoples have been defeated and overthrown, nevertheless they have continued with shrunken power and diminished territory to occupy the seats of their forefathers.

Spain attempted to crush Holland, and Austria attempted to crush

Italy, but both Italy and Holland rose again. The Turks made a prolonged effort to exterminate Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece, but those three nations regained their freedom and conquered their oppressor. There is still vitality even in Armenia, which has endured a long agony of persecution. After the Franco-German War it was supposed that France would never recover from the blow, but it was French military genius which led the Allies in the overthrow of the German Empire, and to-day France is the strongest nation on the Continent. History is full of this strange power of national resurrection.

But, in the second place, let us note that in spite of this stubborn racial persistence the actual political framework of a nation is subject to sudden and often disastrous change. There are moments in history when nothing seems to be so brittle as the fabric of the state. We have seen with our own eyes the great work of the Russian Tsars perish in a night. We have seen the Empire of the Hapsburgs collapse like a house of sand. And the German Empire which Bismarck created went to pieces within a few hours, its Emperor became a fugitive, and the dukes and kings of its confederate states were swept simultaneously from their thrones and their thrones. This is the catastrophic and seismic element in history.

WHERE we may look to promise of permanence for the British Empire and its institutions

Third, it has often been asked how long the British Empire will endure. There is nothing to guide us, because the British Empire is unlike any other imperial system of the past. It is not a mechanical combination held together by militarism. It is a union of self-governing communities or of communities gradually approaching self-government, and sharing or learning to share a common ideal of government and liberty. We quoted the Bill of Rights and pointed out that its essential

elements were seized by the framers of the American Constitution. That is a fact of profound significance, for it means that the greatest Power in the New World had discovered in the Common Law of Great Britain the best guarantee of ordered freedom and a nation's strength. It is, therefore, in the realization of this ideal adapted to the needs of every people within the British Confederation that we find the greatest promise of the Empire's permanence.

THE world's peace and the growing demand for an international standard of justice

One final question meets us. Nations, like individuals, compete with each other, and competition involves suffering. It is agreed that it is by means of competition that the character of the individual is developed. If there is no struggle, character weakens and degenerates. And the same law is at work in the case of those great aggregates of individuals which we call nations. If so, is collision, is war inevitable? This question, which we cannot attempt to answer here, occupies the minds of those who look forward to an international rivalry that shall be bloodless, and place hope in a League of Peace.

We may meanwhile remind ourselves of a statement made earlier in these pages—that the task of all states is twofold:

1. To regulate their own inner life, and
2. To adjust their relations with their neighbours.

Modern feeling has begun to demand that justice shall be the essence of both sets of relations. There is a saying of the greatest of Greek thinkers that at first the state is created for the sake of mere life, but that it continues to exist for the sake of the good life. The future of civilization will depend on how far each nation will respect that level of good life which other nations may have attained.